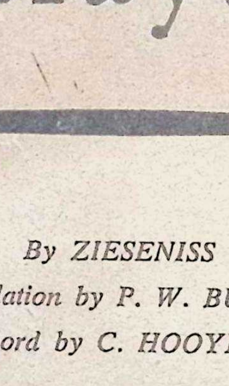
The Rāma Saga in Malaysia

By ZIESENISS

Translation by P. W. BURCH

Foreword by C. HOOYKAAS



The story of Prince Rāma and his faithful spouse Sitā, her forceful abduction by Ravana, the ten headed ogre king of Langka, and the final conquest of Langka by the monkeys helping Rāma — of whom faithful Anuman is the best known — is unrivalled. It has captivated the Indians for more than two thousand years and has been dealt with in Sanskrit, the Prakrits and modern Indian languages; about three hundred more or less different versions have been investigated and grouped in Dr. Camille Bulcke's book RAMA-KATHA.

Wheresoever the story of Rāma became known it attracted its listeners and readers by its artistic as well as by its ethical merits. Perhaps the most outstanding poem in the whole of Indonesian literature is the Old-Javanese Ramayana. During the Hindu centuries this story was twice used for a series of sculptures on two of the biggest chandis (mausolea). But the story of Rāma does not belong to the dead past, to stone, wood, bark, palmleaf and paper, but in our present day it is danced and acted by shadow puppets as well as by human actors 'in court and kampong'. It belongs to all ages and all creeds: its origin is Hindu, several of its students are Christians, and it lives among Muslim Javanese and Malays. Several versions are known to exist in the Malay language and it is to the credit of Dr. Zieseniss to have studied them thoroughly.

Whosoever wishes to learn in which respect the Malay versions of the story of Rāma are in accordance with the versions in Siam or Java, and in which respects they differ, should consult Dr. Zieseniss' book. The story of Rāma is international; so is the scholarship devoted to its study.

C. HOOYKAAS

THE RĀMA SAGA
IN MALAYSIA

ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

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ALEXANDER ZIESENISS

Translated by

P. W. BURCH
Fellow of the Institute

and with a Foreword by

C. HOOYKAAS

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

M.S.R.I., a permanent research body, had its origins in a research project on the effect of Islām in Malaya.

We should like to tell you how this project came into being. Many in Malaya have felt that Islām has had a pervasive influence, but little or nothing had been published on the subject. It was felt that no one individual was qualified to deal with all of its ramifications — a group study was necessary.

This group was formed in 1957 under the guidance of Malaya's Grand Old Pandita, Pak ZA'BA or Dr. Tuan Haji Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad. The work brought forty-nine people together, all but a few of whom were Malayans.

A Committee was formed to sponsor the project: Dr. Za'ba as Chairman, Nazir Mallal as Honorary Treasurer, this writer as Organiser and General Editor, Francis Thomas, then a Minister in the Singapore Government and Gerald de Cruz, then Research Director of the ruling party.

Public funds supported the work of finding those qualified, organizing and editing materials, and carrying out necessary translations. Those who gave their time, experience, money and most of all their dedication, gave without it being possible to demonstrate that this endeavour would have a meaningful conclusion. To those scattered many belongs our gratitude.

After two years of work the realization of the overwhelming need for further research into other aspects of the society was such that a blueprint of a permanent research institute was drawn up by Professor Fatimi and this writer. This visualization was shown to H. H. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his visit to Singapore and it was he who assured to us a grant sufficient to found the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. The signatories of the Memorandum and Articles of Association are:

Dr. Tuan Haji Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (ZA'BA), the first Chairman of the Board of Governors.

Dato Sir Mahmud bin Mat, the first Vice Chairman of the Board of Governors.

Nazir Mallal, the first Honorary Treasurer of the Board of Governors.

Shirle Gordon, Honorary Secretary of the Board of Governors and Director of the Institute.

Professor S. Q. Fatimi, one of the initial members of the Board of Governors.

Dr. Quah Quee Guan.

Dr. Ho Yuen, who later agreed to serve in Prof. Fatimi's stead on the Board of Governors and is now Chairman of the Board.

The M.S.R.I., a non-profit body, was inaugurated on November 27, 1959, with Prince Sadruddin generously agreeing to serve as its Patron. In October, 1960, the M.S.R.I. was declared "an institution of a public character" by the State of Singapore, a status also recognized by the Federation Government. Contributions are tax-deductible.

The Objects of the M.S.R.I. setting forth the why of its formation are:

(a) To analyse the existing cultures of Malaysia and Malaya in particular in order to determine both their essential character and their ultimate objectives.

(b) To contribute towards the crystallization of Malayan consciousness through a discovery of the factors of unity in the national life as manifest in the cultures of Malaya in their continuous stream.

(c) To encourage the development of a functioning intelligentzia within the Malayan context.

(d) To preserve and consolidate the national heritage in such form as it may exist.

(e) As a part of object (a) above to research into the phenomenon of Islam in Malaya and its impact on the plural society.

(f) As a part of object (e) above to carry on, further the purpose, the intent and the subjects dealt with in the project: 'Islam in Malaya'.

(g) To foster and encourage the research of any intellectual of this country within the scope and not contrary to the direction of the Institute as set forth above and the Institute shall retain the copyright thereof.

(h) As part of the objects stated above, to set up a Scholarship/Fellowship Fund to give Scholarships and/or fellowships to people considered suitable material in order to enable them to further their research or studies in the manner and according to the continuous direction of the Institute. They shall be responsible to the Institute for any research or studies which they shall embark upon and the Institute shall retain all rights thereto including full copyright to all such works. Such studies do not necessarily mean a study or study course in a recognized Institution.

(i) To foster and/or publish any work, in any language, the Institute deems of national value and the Institute shall retain the copyright thereof.

(j) To foster the use of Malay as the National Language in the additional publications of the Institute.

(k) To disseminate the work of the Institute among the masses and to bring awareness to and encourage knowledge of its objects and its work.

(l) For the purpose of carrying out the objects stated above to establish under the Institute a full research and reference library.

(m) To receive, purchase, hire or build premises and all equipment necessary for publication in accordance with the objects set out above.

(n) To receive, purchase, hire or build premises to house the Institute and/or lodge research workers in an atmosphere congenial to research.

(o) To take such steps by personal or written appeals, public meetings or other wise as may from time to time be deemed expedient for the purpose of procuring contributions to the funds of the Institute in the shape of donations, annual subscription or otherwise.

Since its inception the M.S.R.I. has moved forward to publish the result of its research, follow up on collateral materials which were uncovered and commence further research; to publish a tabloid called *Benih* in the Malay edition, *Seed* in the English edition and *Chung-tze* in the Chinese edition; to draw plans for a Congress of Malaysian Scholars and Writers, and to publish *Intisari,* a scientific quarterly whose initial numbers contain original research of M.S.R.I. *Intisari* deals with but one subject per issue.

M.S.R.I. has endeavoured to build up an Associate Membership of those who would freely contribute their talents, established Regional Branch Offices in Penang and Kuala Lumpur, purchased premises in Singapore, expanded its Board of Governors to include representatives of diverse institutions, and attempted to consolidate its funds so that its work can continue.

We commend to you this volume, those published and those in publication (as listed on the dust jacket) and ask for your support: intellectual, moral or financial.

SHIRLE GORDON.

Singapore,
May, 1963.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

M.S.R.I. has been supported financially as a unit. Many have given and it is not possible to isolate any one contribution as being the particular contribution responsible for this translation. Thus our gratitude must go to all those who have supported M.S.R.I. since its inception in 1959. Their names appear at the back of this volume.

An advance for the printing of this book has been generously given by one of our supporters in the hope that when the book is available the public will contribute towards its repayment.

Finally we must thank: Professor Dr. L. Alsdorf of the Seminar Für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens, Universität Hamburg, holders of the copyright for allowing us to do and to publish this translation; P. W. Burch who with but a minimum of remuneration was good enough not only to do this translation but to see it through the press; Professor C. Hooykaas who first suggested that this work be done and who kindly wrote its Foreword, and G. T. Gunn, M.S.R.I. Board Member, who without compensation has acted as Publications Advisor to M.S.R.I. and without whom we could never have had so fine a book.

M.S.R.I.

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FOREWORD

THE MALAYSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE LTD. (a non-profit organisation) has written me the following letter:—

> You will undoubtedly remember that I wrote to you two years ago concerning our desire to do research on the acculturation of the Ramayana when introduced into Malaysia. And you will undoubtedly recall your letter to me in which you suggested that before any work be done on the subject, the works of Zieseniss and/or Stutterheim be translated into English.
>
> I am pleased to tell you that we acted upon your advice and completed the translation of Zieseniss as per an agreement reached with Prof. Alsdorf, Director, Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens, Universität Hamburg, holder of the copyright. When the translation was completed we sent it to Prof. Alsdorf and were more than pleased that he found no correction to make, whatsoever.
>
> We then put the translation to press and have just sent the page proofs for checking.
>
> However, dear Sir, it would indeed be a much better volume if you might be so good as to write an introduction, or preface on the significance of the work.

It is a privilege and a pleasure for me to comply with this request, for three reasons.

In the first place — the story of Rama, which has been known in Malaya for centuries, links this country spiritually with its neighbours. On the one hand Siam/Thailand named six of its kings Rama after the Indian hero, and its capital Ayuthia is called after his capital Ayodhya. One needs only to glance in P. Schweissguth's 'Etude sur la Littérature Siamoise'[1] to get an impression of the position the story of Rama had and still has in that country. Java, on the other hand, has also had one of its capitals, Djokjakarta, named after Ayodhya. We do not know of a Javanese king who was called after Rama during his lifetime, but two of Java's big *chandis* (several of which were built as mausolea for defunct and defied kings) still contain extensive series of reliefs depicting the story of Rama[2]. Java, after conversion to Islam, by no means forgot this marvellous story: its stage continues to enact the story of Rama 'in court and kampong', and the court poet Yasadipura made a new version of it in eighteenth century Javanese language and using modern Javanese metres. Regarding the ancient poem Rāmāyana Kakawin (= poem; kawi=poet)[3] we are indebted to R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka,[4] (now emeritus professor) for a most informative study. Nowadays it's numerous M.S.S. are found almost exclusively in Bali, East of Java.

---

[1] Paris, Imprimerie Nationale.

It is to the lasting merit of Dr. Zieseniss that he has written the fundamental book on the Malay Hikayat Sri Rama. Since 1928 research in the vast field of the Ramayana has been and still is being pursued. Dr. C. Bulcke S. J. in his Ph. D. thesis from the University of Allahabad, 'Rāma-kathā' (1950), succeeded in dealing with three hundred versions of the story of Rama in Sanskrit and various vernaculars. We hope that his Hindi-written book will ere long be accessible in English, as are several of his more recent studies on the Ramayana. It became clear that the Old-Javanese Ramayana for more than the first half had the Sanskrit Kāvya, poem, Rāvana-vadha, as its example[5] and that it was composed to be an exemplary *kakawin.*[6] The late H. Overbeck in 1933 gave an exhaustive résumé of the Malay Hikayat Maharaja Ravana[7]. Sir Richard Winstedt in 1929 gave an outline of a Patani version of the story of Rama[8] and in 1944 pointed to the existence in London of a hitherto unknown version of the Hikayat Sri Rama[9] (my colleague at SOAS, E. C. G. Barrett, is preparing an edition of this text). Since 1955 the 'Critical and Illustrated Edition' of the Valmiki Ramayana has been in preparation at the Oriental Institute of the University of Baroda. Professor Hermann Jacobi's basic work on the Valmiki Ramayana (1893)[10] has recently been translated from German into English[11]. I am grateful to the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute that it has now done the same for that other German scholar in the field of Ramayana studies, the late Dr. Zieseniss, and express the hope that 'Rama-Sagen und Rama-Reliefs in Indonesian', by my compatriot, the late Dr. W. F. Stutterheim[12], may in the future share this same privilege. Nowadays we can no longer be satisfied with J. Kats' abridgments[13].

---

[2] Willem Stutterheim, Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien, Georg Müller Verlag München, 1924 (Ph.D. thesis Leiden).

[3] Râmâyaṇa, Oudjavaansch heldendicht, uitgegeven door H. Kern, 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1900.

[4] Het Oud-Javaansche Rāmāyaṇa, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap, 72/2, 1932; pp. 151-214.

[5] On the Source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin by Manomohan Ghosh, Journal of the Greater India Society III, 1936, pp. 113-117. — In the footsteps of Bulcke and Ghosh: The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, with special reference to the problem of interpolation in kakawins by C. Hooykaas, in Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, XVI, 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1955.

[6] The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an examplary kakawin as to form and content by C. Hooykaas, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks, Deel LXV, No. 1, 1958, Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, Amsterdam.

[7] Journal Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society, XI/2, 1933, pp. 111-132.

[8] Feestbundel Bataviaasch Genootschap etc. II, 1929, pp. 423-434.

In the second place — I am grateful that so much scholarly work done by the late Dr. Zieseniss is now available. Recently the Indian Academy of Indian Culture published posthumously his 'Studien zur Geschichte des Sivaismus, Die Saiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspatitattva'[14], which is the continuation of his 'Die Çivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur I'[15]. In these two treatises he deals with the Sanskrit cum Old-Javanese texts Vṛhaspati-tattva and Tattva Sang Hyang Mahā-Jñāna; these and the Ślokāntara and Wratiśāsana, also discussed by him[16] have in recent years been published by the same Academy[17].

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[9] Journal Royal Asiatic Society, I & 2, pp. 62-73.

[10] Das Rāmāyaṇa, Geschichte und Inhalt nebst Concordanz der gedruckten Rezensionen, Bonn.

[11] By Dr. S. N. Ghosal in Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, V/2 1955 — VIII/3 1959.

[12] o.c. note 2.

[13] Cf. Het Javaansche Tooneel I, Wajang Poerwa, Volkslectuur, Weltevreden, 1923; Sĕrat Rama, kaanggit déning R. Ng. Jasadipoera kawĕwahan bĕboeka lan sĕsorah déning toewan J. Kats, Balé Poestaka, Weltevreden, 1925;
Het Râmâyana op Javaansche Tempel Reliefs, The Ramayana as sculptured in reliefs in Javanese Temples, Kolff & Co. Batavia/Leiden [1925]; the three books contain the same illustrations, the second has the Dutch text translated into Javanese, containing mainly the Javanese poem; the third has the Dutch text and English translation added.
J. Kats, The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia, Bulletin School of Oriental Studies, IV/3, 1927, pp. 579-585.

[14] As Śatapitaka No. 7, New Delhi 1958.

[15] Bijdragen, o.c. 98, 1939, pp. 75-224.

[16] Verslag van het achtste congres van het Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, 1936, Brill, Leiden, pp. 48-51.

Zieseniss may have dreamt of another publication, but there they are, and nobody will deny their importance[18].

In the third place — I am grateful to the Research Institute because it has fulfilled one of my wishes. One cannot study Malay literature in general or the Hikayat Sri Rama in particular at an academic level without consulting Zieseniss. But it would be unwise to require an undergraduate student to learn German on top of his other subjects. This is not done in the U.K. and *a fortiori* it should not be done in the overseas countries where in the first place English itself must be mastered to perfection. Ignoring books and papers written in languages other than English, however, is a dangerous method from the pedagogic point of view, and leads sometimes to disastrous results. The only way I know is to translate into English those books and papers in foreign languages which are indispensable for undergraduate students. This is a big enterprise that will take years and money — just like the building of laboratories, the equipping of libraries, the erecting of buildings and the educating of University staff. It is heart warming to find that a non-profit organisation has initiated this course of action, and I can only end by expressing my vivid hope that the publication of this book may have the success it deserves.

C. HOOYKAAS,
LONDON SCHOOL OF
ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

London, 12th November, 1962.

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17. Wṛhaspati-Tattwa, an Old Javanese philosophical text, critically edited and annotated by Sudarshana Devi, 1957.
Tattwajñāna and Mahājñāna (Two Kawi philosophical texts), edited, translated and annotated by Dr. Sudarshana Devi Singhal, D.Litt., New-Delhi, 1962.
Ślokāntara, an Old Javanese didactic text, critically edited and annotated by Sharada Rani, 1957.
Wratiśasana, a Sanskrit text on ascetic discipline with Kawi exegesis, edited and annotated by Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, M.A., D.Litt. et. Phil., New-Delhi, 1961.

[18] C. Hooykaas, Śaiva-siddhānta in Java and Bali, some remarks on its recent study, in Bijdragen etc. 118/3, 1962, pp. 309-327.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

IT has long been open to discussion whether the deviations of the Malayan Hikāyat Srī Rāma from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, which were first noted by Dozon[1], are attributable to extra-epic Indian[2] or Indonesian origins. The latter view, propounded most recently by Rassers in his "Panji Roman", has now been conclusively refuted by Stutterheim in his work[3] "Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien"; in this work he produces evidence showing that the deviations in question belong for the most part to the popular Rāma sagas of India or other Indian sagas, and further, that the Hikāyat Srī Rāma originated in Indonesia "from the mixed influence of predominantly oral tradition, agreeing in general with our Indonesian tales". The addition of a further treatise to St.'s is prompted by the conviction that his findings, particularly regarding individual points of research, can be supplemented and amended in important respects, to give an overall result which is more exact. How this is possible, can best be shown by a short account of the origin and scope of the present treatise.

It has been brought about by the discovery of numerous extra-epic parallels to the deviations of the H.S.R. from Vālmīki (Vā.)[4]. In contrast to St.'s comparatively short work, which was supplementary to archaeological research of a wider nature, and also gave consideration to the Javanese parallel versions of the H.S.R., this treatise is planned as a systematic monograph on the H.S.R. The principal features of the work had already been defined when St.'s book appeared, and it was completed on the

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1. Etude sur le Roman Malay de Sri Rama. J.A. 4ème Série Tome VII 1846.
2. Likewise Juynboll in "Een Episode uit het Oudindische Ramayana vergeleken met de Javaansche en Maleische bewerkingen" (Bijdr. 50, 1899) and "Indonesische en Achterindische Tooneelvorstellingen uit het Rāmāyaṇa" (Bijdr. 51, 1912); by reason of name-forms, which he considers Southern Indian, he assumes the source of the H.S.R. to be a Southern Indian version of the Rāma saga. (Note on Southern Indian name-forms also in van Ronkel: Aanteekeningen op een ouden Maleischen Ramajana-tekst. Bijd. 75, 1919, v. p. 100).
3. Stutterheim (abb. in future St.) p. 111.
4. This abbreviation is used in the rest of the treatise to denote Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.

original lines, as the latter's findings in no way warranted a change in the essential character of the treatise. It sets out to draw careful comparison between the H.S.R. in its available versions (q.v. infra) and Vā 's Rāma saga in conjunction with extra-epic Rāma sagas.

Due to the volume of material a consideration of the above-mentioned Javanese versions must be left aside. The prerequisite for a successful completion of this study is a detailed summary of contents of the H.S.R., which will, at the same time, permit an exact appreciation of the relationship between the versions from the Malayan standpoint. From this a comparison with the Indian Rāma sagas can be made, while preserving the desirable brevity and clarity for such a wealth of detail. A careful comparison of the H.S.R. with Vā. is the basic essential. By clearly defining the similarities and differences between the H.S.R. and Vā., a clear picture of the common characteristics in the Malay version and Vā. can be formed, in addition to their contrasting peculiarities, thereby providing an opportunity of settling how far the established divergences of the H.S.R. belong to extra-epic Indian Rāma sagas, occur in other Indian sagas, or perhaps are attributable to Indonesian origins[5]. During the course of research, it becomes clear that deviations of the second category may be taken, without any doubt, as composite elements of the Indian Rāma sagas. The sources used will be discussed below. The sources are partly the same as St 's and partly different from his. Although the material available for comparison is not as wide as St. 's, a precise examination of sources, including those used by the latter, does yield valuable results in many important points. Reference is made to St. 's results where they go beyond the conclusions reached here; therefore it is also advisable to use his book in conjunction with the reading of this thesis, bearing in mind the more copious source material. For a number of episodes and narrative elements, the sources can be supplemented by proving an Indian origin on the basis of internal evidence (the importance attached to Rāma-Viṣṇu's deity, obvious embellishment of certain elements already in existence, duplicated forms of the same, the resolving of contradictions etc.); the same can be done for a number of apparently un-Indian names by a process of reconstruction based on the Arabic script. St. made little or no use of these possibilities. With regard to the relationship between those peculiarities of the H.S.R. and Vā., which have been confirmed as elements of the Indian Rama saga, a careful examination will, in certain cases, show that one or other of the deviations have developed from Vā. In the remaining instances, the relationship in question is established by comparing the material in Vā. at a corresponding juncture, or by careful examination of the context in which the deviations occur. Coupled with the result of the comparison of the H.S.R. with Vā., the results reached here give an exact picture of the relationship of the Malayan version and the allied extra-epic Indian versions of the Rāma saga to the epic. This method of establishing a relationship appears to be the only possible scientific procedure. St.'s effort to ascertain the relationship between the H.S.R. and Vā., by reconstructing the 'original theme' on the lines of a psycho-analytical interpretation of the saga, is methodologically wrong and has produced quite misleading results. Further, it is essential for the exact relationship between the Malayan and Indian parallels to be established in the general conclusion, at least for the more important episodes. In this manner St.'s undoubtedly correct findings, regarding the origin and development of the H.S.R., can be outlined clearly in a scientifically desirable fashion, and can be corrected and supplemented in important respects at the end of the monograph in the synopsis of conclusions drawn from both sections of this work.

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[5] Although this is a similar method to that already used by Juynboll in the first essay cited on p. 1, it originated independently.

The treatise, then, falls into two parts: (a) the summary of the contents of the H.S.R., (b) the comparison of the latter with the Indian Rāma sagas. The following points concerning the structure of the two parts should be noted.

Two versions, also used by St. and bearing a close resemblance to each other in spite of their considerable differences, were employed for the purposes of research. They are to be found in the editions by Roorda van Eysinga[6] — (abb.

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[6] P. P. Roorda van Eysinga, Geschiedenis van Sri Rama, beroemd Indisch Heroisch Dichtstuk, oorspronkelijk van Valmic en naar eene Maleische vertaling daarvan. Amsterdam 1843

Ro.) and Shellabear[7] (abb. Sh.). Ro.'s version was used as a basis, as it is fuller in its general account and is the only really acceptable one for the purposes of the study; in very few instances, details recorded by Gerth van Wijk[8] from other unpublished versions of the H.S.R. have also been considered. The other well-known version by Maxwell[9], which shows considerable deviation from the other two, is only dealt with in the synopsis of results at the end. In order to achieve the necessary clarity, the material of both parts has been divided into the same number of both shorter and more lengthy passages, according to meaning and content. For if there is any hard and fast division of the material into chapters, it only occurs in the form of descriptive headings[10] which, useful as they may be, are inadequate for the purposes of this research. The sections have been provided with appropriate headings and are numbered in sequence for ease of reference (q.v. infra); below the headings are the corresponding page numbers of Ro. and Sh. and in the second part the corresponding books and chapters of Vā.; in the remainder of the work the latter are noted, without making detailed reference to their origin.

The summary of contents used by Jacobi for the Rāmāyaṇa serves as a model. For the purposes of a comparison with the Rāma saga, however, it must exceed the amount of detail in the latter. This is made possible by the adoption of an appropriate style; it is also prevented from assuming unnecessary magnitude, as the Malayan versions are relatively shorter than Vā. Unless really requiring a complete section to themselves, Sh.'s deviations have been incorporated in the context of Ro. 's version, to which they rightly belong. There is, therefore, a proper connection between them and the ensuing part of Ro. 's narrative. Care has also been taken to ensure that the relationship between Ro. and Sh. is clearly manifest by the adoption of a style appropriate to the versions. Any smaller parts of the story in either version which appear important, but do not warrant inclusion in the main narrative, are given in the notes. For the sake of brevity and clarity, the names of persons appearing regularly in the epics are given in their Indian form, and are thereafter abbreviated: for instance, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Rāvaṇa. The Malay form, or forms of names are cited in the foot-notes when they first occur, and are approximate transliterations only, as the Arabic script contains no vowels. The approximate transliterated reading is also given for other names, should mention of them seem justified.

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[7] W. G. Shellabear, Hikayat Sri Rama, JSBRAS. No. 71, December 1915.

[8] D. Gerth van Wijk. Iets over verschillende Maleische redacties van den Seri Rāma. TBG. 34, 1891.

[9] W. E. Maxwell, Sri Rama, a fairy tale told by a Malay rhapsodist. JSBRAS. 1886 (1887). Gerth van Wijk's summary of contents was used (v. note 3).

[10] These are to be found in the introductory sentences, which approximate to headings (*alkiṣah*) *maka tĕrsĕbutlah pĕrkatāan*... (This is the story how...; e.g. Ro. p. 20, 85) and *dātanglah kĕpada hikāyat*... (now we come to the story how...) in Sh. (e.g. p. 88, 103); the content of the episodes then introduced is stated briefly.

In the second part of the treatise, the material of both versions contained in the summary of contents, is compared section by section with the corresponding passages in Vā. In order to bring out the relationship between Sh. and Vā., it will be sufficient to set forth the main areas of agreement and difference between Ro. and Vā. for those sections which occur in both versions, and then summarize briefly the respective differences between Sh. and Ro.; comparison with the result for Ro. permits Sh.'s relationship to be clearly demonstrated. Unless present only in Sh. or Ro., each section is divided into three, otherwise two subsections. The first records the agreement of Ro. or Sh. (only for section 1. The Deeds of Rāvaṇa's Youth), the second, Ro.'s deviations from Vā., the third, peculiarities of Sh. compared with Ro. To accomodate the mass of material clearly and avoid superfluity, the sub-sections have been made into lists, in which the comparisons are made in note-form. The lists have Roman numerals I-III, and each point is marked by a letter of the alphabet, an arrangement which in conjunction with the numbering of the sections, permits the numerous cross-references between sections to be made with ease. To show clearly how far the divergent parts of the story are also given in Vā., or appear for the first time, the corresponding elements of Vā. have, in the former case, been placed in parenthesis. Individual deviations have been made particularly distinguishable, in order to determine quickly to what extent the established peculiarities of Ro. or Sh., in contrast to Vā., are attributable to the Indian Rāma sagas.

Spaced type indicates that the corresponding part of the story cannot yet be identified or proved as Indian, and requires further examination. Those characteristics which have been established as Indian, have been marked with an*, with the exception of any which have only changed their position relative to Vā.; to distinguish them, a bracketed exclamation mark has been used, with mention of book, chapter and, in some cases, verse in Vā. The absence of any distinguishing mark indicates that the part of the story in question is either of Indonesian or uncertain Indian origin. This is particularly applicable to those peculiarities of Sh., which have been given no particular distinguishing mark, and is a procedure which justifies itself quite naturally in the overall results of the study. To determine the relationship between the Indian and Malayan parallels, the areas of agreement and difference in the major episodes of the two versions have been ordered numerically and not alphabetically, as they were in the general comparison. The foregoing detailed sketch of the manner in which the comparison between the H.S.R. and the Indian Rāma sagas is arranged, takes on to some extent the character of a dictionary of motifs for the Rāma saga, which may well prove useful to specialists, both in Malaysian and Indian studies.

In conclusion a little must be said concerning the sources used for this thesis. They fall into two major groups: 1. Differing versions of popular Rāma sagas, partly in modern Indian languages, and partly in renderings by Europeans or actually in European languages (Sen, v. infra); 2. Versions of the Rāma saga belonging to Sanskrit literature. The first group is by far the most important. Apart from Tulsī Dās' Rāmcaritmānas, it includes both fairly short and more lengthy summaries, as well as complete Rāma sagas from various regions of India, and fragments of sagas. Particularly noteworthy are Sen's valuable work on the "Bengali Rāmāyaṇas" and the rendering of a Northern Indian Rāma saga in Polier's "Mythologie des Indous" which by virtue of existing parallels, has proved to be an exceptionally exact and reliable account. Unfortunately, its exact geographical origin cannot be ascertained. During a visit to Lakhnau, Polier recorded it from an oral account given to him by a Sikh, who came from Sultanpur near Lahore; it cannot be established whether the saga comes from the Punjab or from North East India, or to what extent it represents a mixture of the legends of both regions. Of the sources belonging to Sanskrit literature, the most important is that Jainist rendering of the Rāma saga in Hemacandra's Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa, which provides important parallels for certain peculiarities of the H.S.R.[11], when it is supplemented by the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa, which is also Jainist-Canarese in origin and was used by Rice in his summary of contents. Further parallels are to be found in the Rāma dramas of Bhavabhūti, Murāri and Rājaśekhara and also in the Hanūman-Nāṭaka. The puranic versions of the Rāma saga, also of the Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, do not yield any specific comparisons of great importance with the exception of the Rāma sagas contained in the Pātālkāṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa: the sacrifice of Rāma's steed (P.K. 1-68) and a version differing in several points from Vā., recited by Jāmbavat Rāma and considered 'ancient' as *purātana* (P.K. 112). Although the latter is considered as an 'invented' *kalpita*, and Belvalkar's contrary view is based on this idea[12], it can still be appealed to as genuine folklore, a fact which emerges from the possibility of collecting comparative material for the H.S.R. from it. The Rāma saga in Ravenshaw's essay "The Avatars of Vishnoo, An Abstract Translation from the Padma-Pooran", since it is not to be found in the available edition of the Padmapurāṇa, apparently belongs to another version of the Padmapurāṇa which may be Southern Indian (c.f. the form of the name Nymesarenneam).

It is a pleasant task for me to express my gratitude to all those who have, by their friendly co-operation, promoted this treatise from its inception, above all Professor Schubring who has given of his guidance and advice so tactfully throughout. Further, I am indebted to Dr. Aichele for many valuable suggestions in the Malayan field and also Mr. Tavadia, lector, for his willingly offered interpretation of the Gujarati and Hindi sources used by me, and his information concerning the details of the popular Rāma plays of Gujarat and the customs and practices of his native land.

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[11] Since the comparative material thereby available, is adequate for the purposes of this study, it has not been necessary to use the Paumacariya of Vimala Sūri, published by Jacobi and also containing the Jainist form of the Rāma saga.

[12] Belvalkar, Rāma's Later History p. LVI.

NARRATIVE PART

1

THE DEEDS OF RĀVAṆA'S YOUTH.

Sh. p. 1-51.

RĀVAṆA[1], a monster with ten heads and twenty arms is sent by ship to Būkit Sĕrĕndīb; there he lives the life of an ascetic, hanging at night head downwards from a beam supported over a fire by two posts, and during the day collecting the wood necessary to keep the fire stoked. One morning Nabī Adam, who has been banished from heaven by Allah, finds him practising his asceticism, learns the purpose of it by questioning him and promises to procure for Rāv. the dominion he desires over the three kingdoms of the earth, the Kĕindrāan[2] the Underworld and the Sea, if Rāv. is prepared to vow that he will rule in justice and innocence. Once this condition has been accepted, Nabī Adam's prayer brings Rāv.'s wish to pass. He rules in the Kĕindrāan, the Underworld and the Sea in turn; his wives in each kingdom being Nīla utāma, Pĕrtīwi dewī and Gangga mahā dewī. They bear him three sons, Indrajit[3], who has three heads and six arms, Patāla Maharāyan and Gangga mahā sūrī; when they reach the age of twelve they are each made kings. On his return to Earth Rāv. builds the city of Laṅkā[4] for himself on Būkit Sĕrĕndīb and rules justly over all the world from the East to the West, excepting only the countries of Indra pūrī, Bīrūhashā pūrwā, Lagur Katagīna and Isfahā bogā. Seven years after his exile, Rāv.'s grandfather, Bĕrma rāja, dies in Indra pūrī. His successor to the throne is his eldest son Badanul[5], whose two sons, married to the daughters of Jāmah Mantri and Nāran, are given their own kingdoms. After a reign lasting eight years he dies; Citra bahā, (Rāv.'s father) succeeds him as king. The three children born to him after

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[1] Mal. Rawana, after his rise to power Mahārāja Rawāna.

[2] Home (heaven) of the Indras. C.f. also St. note 107 p. 237.

[3] Sh. Indra jat; Ro: Indra jāti.

[4] Mal. Langka pūrī.

[5] Vocalized like this.

Rāv.'s exile are: Kumbhakarṇa[6], Vibhīṣaṇa[7], Śūrpaṇakhā[8]; the first, of gigantic stature and resembling his grandfather on his mother's side, the rākṣasa prince Ditī Kuca (vide infra), is noted for his gluttony and his addiction for sleep, indulging the latter in a cave in the Ḳĕlbūran gangsa mountains. Vi., a wise man and an astrologer marries Nāran's second daughter and is provided with domains, while Śū. is wed to the rākṣasa prince Bĕrga singa. Three years later Citra bahā dies; he is succeeded by the brother of Jāma Mantrī[9] as the latter will not accept the honour of being king. His son marries Sardula's daughter and receives a kingdom of his own. Four years later Mantrī Shaksha becomes king. His sons[10] also are wed and invested with domains.[11]

Once Citra bahā ambushed King Ditī Kawāca (q.v. supra) of Bīrūhashā purwā, killed him and took all his courtiers prisoner, leading them away to Indra pūrī, with the exception of the ruler's sister who then bears a son, Maharāja Balīḳasha, by the rākṣasa prince Ditī Pĕrjangga. When he becomes a young man he gathers together the remaining subjects of his uncle, rules in the city which has been restored in all its ancient splendour where he is attended by his advisors[12] and generals[13] one of whom can make people die with all the symptoms of snake bite, simply by licking their foot-prints. He offers his services to the king, who is desirous of taking revenge of Indra pūrī, undertaking to spy out the enemy's city and is sent off with a mighty army of rākṣasas[14]. After marching four months he posts a rear guard and leaving his troops behind he manages to reach Indra pūrī with two companions after a further three months. Entering the mighty city[15] alone, he attends an audience given by Mantrī Shaksha with paupers and beggars, and sees how his power has grown. With the intention of poisoning him he attends another audience;

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[6] Mal. Kumbā̆ karna.
[7] Sh.: Bību sāna, Bību shāna, Mahārāja Bibū shānam; Ro.: Bību sānam and Mahārāja Bibū sānam.
[8] Mal. Sūra pandākī.
[9] Bĕrma Rāja's son (vide p. 94), therefore Citra bahā's brother.
[10] Citra nantāka and Darma nantāka.
[11] With Indra pasta and Mĕrdū̆wangsa.
[12] Their names are given; one of them is called Pātih Sukisa or P. Sukīsa.
[13] Of these Jambala māli and Matākin (?) should be mentioned.
[14] Mal. *raḳsāsa*.
[15] He takes five days to reach the royal palace.

on this occasion he sees the king's twelve ministers[16] and generals[17], and when the audience is at an end he licks their foot-prints, as he is unable to draw near enough to the ruler himself. In the main street he leaves behind a signed letter informing them of his deed and sets off with his companions on the homeward journey, as they are waiting for him outside the city. Mantrī Shaksha is greatly angered when his courtiers fall sick and the letter is found; the doctors[18] who are summoned, wake the patients from their coma by *mantras,* after which they relate how they were miraculously healed in a dream by Bĕrma rāja. Two generals[19] are sent after the rākṣasa with a mighty army. But the rākṣasa manages to surprise his pursuers from the rear and cause them considerable losses by licking their foot-prints· until they finally protect themselves by trailing twigs behind them. Their numbers depleted by the exertions of the pursuit, the hosts of Indra pūrī either suffer destruction or are taken prisoner by the enemy rear-guard; only the leaders escape. The rākṣasa hero returns to Bīrūhashā purwā and is received with honour, but his advice that preparations should be made to meet the inevitable attack from Indra pūrī goes unheeded.

The generals of Indra pūrī return home, collecting on the way any stragglers from among their own people who had been left behind while they were pursuing the enemy. When he hears their report the king despatches an army under the command of his brothers and vassals[20] against Bīrūhashā purwā, where it is decided to adopt the strategem suggested by the rākṣasa spy, now that they have been warned of their approach, and so to hold the enemy advance at a mountain pass and defend the capital to the last. When the opposing sides have both suffered considerable losses in the battle for the pass, the army of Bīrūhashā purwā fights a seven day rear-guard action, during which warriors from both sides accomplish feats of outstanding courage, but the defending army finally withdraws under cover of leaders into the capital. After two battles between Rāja Balīḳasha and the generals of Indra pūri and after unsuccessful deliberations, the city is encompassed and besieged by the enemy. After he has established the seat of government at Laṅkā, Rāv. asks for news of Bĕrma rāja and Indra pūrī; a maharṣi names him the successors of his ancestor, tells him about the war between Mantrī Shaksha and Rāja Balīkasha and advises him to reconcile the opposing parties. Following this advice Rāv. goes to Indra pūrī with his sons and their armies, where Mantrī Shaksha receives him with due honour and assures him that he is prepared to make peace. Indrajit accepts the task of inducing the opponents struggling for possession of Birūhashā purwā to cease hostilities, and accompanied by his hosts betakes himself thither through the air, reconciles the opponents and takes Rāja Balīḳasha to Rāv. who negotiates a peace for him with the King of Indra pūrī. When Rāja Balīḳasha returns to his native land, Rāv. and his sons accompanied by Jāma Mantrī, Kumbhakarṇa, Vi., Bĕrga singa and Ṣū., go back to Laṅkā; Mantrī Shaksha accompanies him part of the way and counsels him always to be mindful of his covenant with Nabī Adam and thereby ensure the continued existence of his rule. On arrival in his capital, Rāv. appoints Jāma Mantrī as regent, Kumbhakarṇa as military commander in chief, Vi. as the chief astrologer, Bĕrga singa as chief of intelligence (?) and continues to reign happily.

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[16] They are named. One of them is called Dur bidāna.

[17] Likewise. Mangsyā pāti is worth particular mention.

[18] The name of one of the two is Maharīsī Anggasta.

[19] Ganda madāna or Agada madāna and Sangwināta.

[20] Their names are listed.

2

RĀMA'S DESCENT AND LINEAGE.

Ro. p. 2-20, Sh. p. 51-62.

IN Isfahā bogā there rules a wise and mighty king, one Daśaratha[1] by name, who is of great beauty and skilled in the arts of magic. His ancestors are Nabī Adam, Dasarata Rāman, Dasarata Cakrawātī. He decides to build a new city and despatches one of his counsellors to seek a suitable location. A plain with a hill rising from its centre is soon found and the king is advised. When the trees are being cleared, a magnificent, beautifully fragrant bamboo clump is discovered which, on being cut down several times, grows again forthwith. Hearing the news, Daś. sets out on his white elephant (Sh.: an elephant with four tusks) and after a vain attempt by one of his counsellors, himself cleaves it asunder and finds the equisitely beautiful princess Mandū dārī (Sh.: Mandūdarī). He takes her with him and orders one large[2] and forty small litters to be constructed for the wedding procession, which takes place after celebrations lasting forty days. Encircling the city for the seventh time, the king's litter is in danger of collapsing, but is supported by Balyā dārī the concubine who, in so doing, breaks her arm. In his gratitude Daś. promises that any son or daughter she bears shall become heir to the throne. The new city Mandūra pūri nĕgāra[3] is built and Daś. takes up residence. As the king is childless, he requests the help of Purosta Maharīsī, who summons him to make ready a sacrifice and arrives after three days in a flying chariot with one of Daś.'s counsellors and one of his disciples to attend the sacrificial rites. After the holy man has been given a solemn welcome, he performs the sacrificial ceremonial, observed by Gāgaḳ swāra, Rāv.'s grandfather. He decides to turn the ceremony to Rāv.'s benefit and from Mandū dārī's hand he steals one of the consecrated balls of rice, of which she and Balyā dārī have each received three; for this he is smitten by Purosta Maharīsī with a curse, which shall cause Daś.'s son to kill him and the child born under the influence of the magic food to become his wife. Rāv. receives the ball of rice at the hands of Gāgaḳ swāra and eats it. The maharṣi returns home laden with gifts from Daś. (Sh.: At his request Daś. receives four bezoar stones from a holy man to relieve him of his childless state.) On one of his hunting expeditions the king wounds a gazelle, which commands him in a human voice, no longer to hunt in this forest which is reserved for his son(?)[4] and then disappears. (This episode is missing in Sh.) Returning from the hunt Daś. meets the holy man Bĕrma dewa, son of Maharīsī Bĕrma Dasarata Cakra wātī(!), who has been an ascetic for 500 years; on enquiring from him what sex his future children would be, he is counselled to slay a thousand elephants and so doing, would receive four sons and one daughter. (This is missing in Sh.) With one more animal to kill to complete the number, Daś. accidently kills in the darkness the son of a blind ascetic[5], who has fallen into a pool, mistaking the sound to be that of a drowning elephant, and so returns home believing that he has fulfilled the condition, quite unaware of what he has done. The blind father goes in search of his son, finds him dead and, certain that Daś. is responsible, invokes a curse that his son shall not prosper and shall suffer a like death; after this he returns home to practise asceticism for 3000 years. (This episode is missing in Sh.) After some time, Daś.'s five children are born: Rāma[6] and Lakṣmaṇa[7] by Mandū dārī, Bharata[8], Śatrughna[9] and Kīkĕwī dewī, a daughter, by Balyā darī. (Sh.: first R. by Mandūdarī, Bhar. by Balyā darī, then L. by Mandūdarī and Śatr. by Balyā darī. The daughter, however, is not named).[10] The colour of R.'s skin is emerald green and the colour of L.'s is that of yellow gold. Shortly after when Daś. is critically ill with a boil on his waist, Balyā dārī saves him from death by drawing out the pus with her mouth and thus receives the assurance for the second time that her sons shall be heirs to the throne (Sh. vide infra). R. who is his father's favourite, excells in beauty, courage and in his friendly disposition to courtier and subject alike. (Sh. only mentions the first two characteristics.) His favourite occupation is archery which he practises regularly. Once he and L. intimidate Mandū dārī's court dwarf, who is a hunchback, by taking mischievous shots at his hump with their arrows, thereby making it shift back and forth(?). The dwarf runs to his mistress and is consoled by her, but on the next day (Sh. says the day following that), he is maltreated in the same manner. When they are informed, the king's counsellors express their concern about R.'s suitability for the throne, but their opinion is not shared by Daś. (Sh. relates the healing of the king at this juncture). Rāv. hears of Daś.'s beautiful new wife and disguised as a brahmin (missing in Sh.), flies to Mandūra pūri nĕgāra in his magic chariot. Leaving his chariot behind a mountain[11] (Sh.: in the air), he manages to gain access to the royal fortress by a *mantra* just when dawn is breaking and plays his lute in the courtyard. Wakened by this, Daś. recognizes him and invites him to be his guest. Rāv. only accepts the invitation on condition that the wish which first brought him hither, be fulfilled and so asks for Mandū dārī. Bound by his promise the king orders his wife to adorn herself. She retires and kneads her body. Then, by laying the waste matter rolled into lumps the size of chicken eggs on a golden salver, and doing homage to it, she changes it first into a frog and then into an image of herself. Rāv. departs with this woman, Mandū dākī[12] (Sh.: Mandūdarī), while Mandū dārī appears before her surprised and overjoyed husband telling him of her cunning. Carrying his new wife on his back and returning to his chariot, Rāv. passes the house of Kīsūbrīsū, who is a Dewa zanggī from Viṣṇu's retinue[13] and who wished by practising asceticism for 200 years, to acquire three bird-sons as mounts for Viṣṇu in his battle with Sī Ranjaḳ(?). Sitting on the platform of his house and dangling his legs, he does not notice Rāv., who asks him angrily whether he is man or monkey (Sh. gĕrgasī), seeing that he has not adopted a posture more befitting to his presence. Turning round, the ascetic sees Rāv., curses him to suffer death at the hand of man and ape and rebukes him for taking another's wife and so breaking his covenant with Dewāta mulyā rāya.[14] After this Rāv. flies to Laṅkā in his chariot with Mandū dākī. Later Kīsūbrīsū has three sons: Garūda Mahābīrū, who plunders the moon, and Dasampānī and Jaṭāyus[15], who are their father's constant companions (missing in Sh.). On his return home Rāv. has forty large litters and a thousand small ones constructed for the wedding procession. After his conversation with Mandū dārī, Daś. flies to Laṅkā with an old woman who masquerades as a flower seller and manages, as a little boy, to gain access to Rāv.'s women's quarters. He remains there for the night with his companion and assuming his real appearance, he sleeps with Mandū dākī. When he has returned he boasts to Mandū dārī that he, and not Rāv., is to be the father of Mandū dākī's child. Rāv.'s sons Indrajit, Patāla Maharabān[16] and Gangga Mahā swāra[17] have musicians brought from their kingdoms of the Kĕindrāan, the Underworld and the Sea for Rāv.'s wedding with Mandū dākī (missing in Sh.), and when fourteen days of celebration have passed, Rāv. encircles the city on the litters built for the purpose, together with Mandū dākī who has been dressed for the occasion by his first wife Putrī Skanda māī, and accompanied by his retinue. Mandū dākī becomes pregnant and when the time has been fulfilled, she brings forth an exquisitely beautiful daughter, whose horoscope Rāv. has cast by the astrologers under Vi.'s charge. Only when instructed by the king to reveal their findings without fear, do the troubled astrologers declare the child's husband will kill him and hold sway over all things in his stead (Sh. adds: the child's husband will rule the animal kingdom; Rāv.'s death is in the hands of his daughter). Rāv. wants the child put to death, but Mandū dākī feeds it once more and persuades Rāv. to leave it to the mercy of the sea in an iron box (into which she puts two

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[1] Mal. Dasarata mahārāja.

[2] Having seven storeys.

[3] On p. 4 Ro. has Mandū pūrī nĕgāra.

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[4] A boy is mentioned who is to slay the animals of that forest.

[5] Bĕgāwān, Bikrama dewa.

[6] Mal. Srī Rāma.

[7] Mal. Laḳsamāna.

[8] Mal. Baradān.

[9] Mal. Citrādān.

[10] C.f. however p. 97.

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[11] *dibālik būkit.*

[12] Mal. *dākī* "excretion from the skin".

[13] Mal. Mahā. Bisnū.

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[14] "The glorious and mighty God" (Wilkinson I p. 320: "The great and mighty Divinity, God"). Equivalent for Allah in stories of non-Islamic origin.

[15] Mal. Cĕntāyū, c.f. p. 46 note 1.

[16] Vide, however p. 9.

[17] Written here like this.

jewels in Sh.'s version). Putrī Skanda māī sees Rāv.'s approaching downfall and flies in her palace at night to the island of Indra puspa wānam with her favourite ladies-in-waiting, where she and her retinue take great pleasure in its gardens. Hospitably received by the divine ascetics living on the island, she is told that the place is a pleasure garden of the dewīs and bidyādarīs inaccessible to all men, even Rāv., by reason of the seven serpents specially engaged by Viṣṇu as keepers. Henceforth Putrī Skanda māī devotes herself to asceticism with the inhabitants of the island, who have knowledge of Rāv.'s impending downfall because of their magic powers. Rāv. is desolate at her disappearance. (The episode is missing in Sh.) The box containing the child is taken by the waves to Durwātī purwā and is washed up at the feet of the pious king Maharīsī Kalī who, standing up to his navel in water, is engaged in his morning sun-worship. He has the box taken to the palace by his servants and opens it in the presence of his wife Putrī Minūram(?)[18] dewī, from whose breasts surge drops of milk at the sight of the beautiful girl, the golden radiance of whose form sheds light through the whole house; then he plants a row of forty lontar fruits in the garden and declares that he will give the child Sītā[19] in marriage to the one who can shoot through all the palms growing from the fruit with a single arrow. The maiden is now twelve years old and the news of her beauty brings all the princes, with the exception of Daś.'s sons, as suitors to Durwātī purwā, where the king instructs them concerning the trial of strength which they must perform with a certain bow lying in the courtyard (not mentioned in Sh.). Rāv. appears in his flying chariot and declares his intention of shooting an arrow through the lontar palms. When M.K. remarks that R. and L. are still missing from the company of aspirants for Sī.'s hand, Rāv. uses insulting language about them and challenges him to fetch them. The king relates the substance of the conversation to his wife. By reminding him of Daś.'s nobility and recalling that R. assumes Viṣṇu's form[20] when he is angered, she persuades her husband to fetch the princes himself, whereupon he sets off for Mandūra pūri nĕgāra immediately. (Sh.: Rāv. is not mentioned among the suitors. M.K. sees that R. and L. are absent and sets off to fetch them.)

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[18] Sh. p. 62 Mīnūram vocalized.

[19] Mal. Sitā (Sh. Sīta) dewī.

[20] With a thousand heads, two-thousand arms and two-thousand legs.

3

THE DEEDS OF RĀMA'S YOUTH.

Ro. p. 20-46, Sh. p. 62-74.

IN accordance with the wishes of their parents, who cannot restrain them, R. and L. set off with a great retinue to the mountain of Gangsa Indra to practise asceticism with the holy man Nīla purba. The band of followers remains at the foot of the mountain, while R. and L. are taken to Nīla purba by the maharṣis and brahmins living there and are believed by them to be angels[1] in human form, on account of their great beauty. Having foreknowledge[2] of their arrival, Nīla purba gives them a cordial welcome and takes them and their retinue to his house where all the guests are accommodated in the reception hall which grows larger of its own accord. He recounts that the whole purpose of his ascetic life has been this encounter with R., and when asked the reason for this wish, he recounts what now follows. Before Daś.'s lifetime Rāv. sent two rākṣasas to challenge Dasarata Cakrawātī to do battle with him. As the sovereign was a man of some years, he did not accept the unseemly challenge issued by the youthful Rāv., but prophesied his death and the death of his kith and kin at the hand of his grandson R., and so dismissed the messengers from his board(?)[3] with two *gantangs*[4] of rice pressed and shaken down; if their master could consume these, he may risk battle with him. Rāv. then set out in great anger with his army against Dasarata Cakrawātī[5]. When he has finished his story Nīla purba imparts his knowledge of magic to them and extends them and their companions his hospitality, after which most of these are sent home with instructions to fetch the others three months later. R. and L. now lead an ascetic life and exercise their skill with weapons. Viṣṇu and the Golden Peacock[6] living on the mountain of Bīmācālam and Nāga Skanda Pĕrtāla Dewa at the foot of the mountain, all practise asceticism. When the latter climbs the mountain and challenges Viṣṇu to become man, he receives no answer and realizes that the two others and Bĕtāra Dewa have been incarnated in Daś.'s family; so he leaves the mountain to set off through the forest in quest of R.; Nīla purba is aware of this. He finds R. on the mountain of Gangsa Indra sitting on a lotus flower, recognizes him as Viṣṇu and is informed by him that the purpose of his asceticism was to bring about their meeting. N.Sk.P.D. then fashions for R. one arrow called Gandī wātī together with two other arrows[7]. R. goes in search of Nīla purba and asks him for a bow, whereupon the holy man presents him with his staff, which itself has come from the staff of Viṣṇu, to fashion the same, and brings to his notice the bow of divine origin outside Maharīsī Kalī's house, as this is the instrument which will bring about the destruction of Rāv. and his family. R. and L. return home having gained much knowledge of the magic arts from the holy man during the three months. (This episode is missing in Sh.). Honourably received by Daś., Maharīsī Kalī asks him to allow his sons to take part in the competition for Sī.'s hand and is given Bhar. and Śatr. in answer to his request. Once they are outside the city, Maharīsī Kalī asks the princes which of the four ways leading to his kingdom they wish to take. The first three ways of 17, 20 and 25 days duration are perilous even for Bĕrma rāja and Rāv. because of an invincible daemon called Jagīna, a gigantic rhinoceros[8] and a mighty serpent[9], whereas the way lasting 40 days is not beset by any dangers at all. Bhar. and Śatr. show they are unsuitable by choosing the last route and are taken back to Daś. by the king, who receives R. after much initial opposition on the part of Daś., who is loth to part with him, as he is a source of strength to him in his old age. At Mandū dārī's instigation the king is also given L. as a companion. Put to the test R. chooses the way lasting 17 days. When he wishes to attack the Jagīna, he finds her asleep, and to avoid killing a female being in her sleep, he wakes her with a kick. Once she is awake, she enquires his name and family and he gives reply, declaring moreover, that he has come to slay her. Because he will not comply with her condescending demand to go on his way, she attacks him with tree trunks torn up by her breath and hurls boulders at him. He avoids these and slays her by shooting an arrow into her uvula, which she in her vanity had called the habitation of her soul. R.'s companions who have followed at a distance approach and hail the victor. When R. has slain the other monsters[10], each time his companions having waited for the outcome of the struggle from the top of a lofty tree, the travellers finally arrive in Durwātī purwā. When the assembled princes question him, M. K. informs them of R.'s arrival and warns them of the magic power of his arrow, declaring that he is certain to shoot through the forty palms; then, while he is accommodating R. and L. and their retinue in a garden, the other suitors give their mutual pledge that they will abduct Sī. should their efforts end in failure. When Rāv. hears of R.'s arrival he demands that the trial of arms be held forthwith but he is informed, as are the other princes, that it will take place the day after next when the general reception has been given. At this the suitors enter the castle. After a tender farewell from his wife, Putrī Komāla dewī, Indrajit departs with his vassals for Durwātī purwā to attend the ceremonial choosing of Sī.'s husband, only as a spectator, because he does not wish his beloved wife to suffer a rival. While the princes are being sumptuously entertained, they jeer at Daś.'s sons and their ascetic practices, the latter being absent at the express wish of the host. Rāv. is overjoyed at Indrajit's arrival and challenges him to win Sī. by participating in the trial of strength. Indrajit refuses because of the divine origin of the bow to be used, which is fashioned from the backbone of a maharṣi and has been handed down from Bĕtāra Gūrū by Bĕtāra Brahmā to Maharīsī Kalī. After the festivities have come to an end and the contest is about to begin, the suitors, convinced of their inability to lift the gigantic bow, request that they should be allowed to shoot through the palms with their own bows. M.K. agrees, stating that their efforts are really in vain. After the princes' fruitless exertions, R. commands L. to try out the bow and L., greatly admired by the princes for his angelic beauty, touches it with the tip of his foot, at which it rears up of its own accord. L. then goes back to R. to accord him the honour of taking the shot. After R. has once more received M.K.'s assurance that he is prepared to abide by the conditions of the competition, he makes his way with L. and his retinue to the bow. The rival suitors who until now have derided him and L. at every opportunity, stand aghast at his manly bearing and beauty. Rāv. only realizes that it is R. when he sees the bow rise at the touch of his foot and he demands that all the other suitors be permitted to undergo the shooting test before R. in order to delay his victory. M.K. gives his consent. The princes shoot through between two and ten palms and Rāv. to his great shame only cleaves 38 palms, not trusting himself with the divine bow but using his own with an arrow[11] acquired by asceticism. M.K. assures Rāv. that he will only give Sī. to the one who shoots through all the trees, then honouring R. by reference to his divine origin[12], he invites him to take his shot with the ancestral bow. All the assembled company save Rāv. and Indrajit swoon when the bow is drawn but come to their senses when R. cleaves forty palm trees with the arrow Gandī wātī. Amidst uproarious shouting from all the suitors, Sī's adoptive father leads her to her future husband. Indrajit refuses Rāv.'s outrageous demand to carry off Sī. as dishonourable in face of R.'s divine origin and the deeds which he has accomplished, and after this, all the suitors with the exception of R. and L. return home. (Sh.: The trial of strength is described briefly without mentioning Rāv., Indrajit, the divine bow or the magic arrow. The princes shoot through ten to thirty palms, R. alone shooting through forty, whereupon the unsuccessful suitors return home.) Four princes who wish to take revenge on R. for their defeat, instruct their generals to watch him closely as he journeys homewards and to report back when he approaches their domains.

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[1] *malāīkat* (Arabic).

[2] Sc. by virtue of his magic powers.

[3] This is not quite clear.

[4] a dry measure.

[5] The outcome of the battle is not recounted.

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[6] *mĕraḳ ĕmas.*
[7] Pulī wātī and Candī wātī.
[8] Agī gandī (Sh.: Gī gandī).
[9] Sūra (Sh. Sūla and Sūlī) nagīn.

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[10] The journey made three times!

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[11] He is called Swarānam (?) (سورانم).

[12] *hai pĕnghūlu sĕgala dewa zanggī dān rāsī* (راسي) *mūnī* "O Lord of all d.z. and r.m."

R. is aware of this[13]. (Sh. adds: As M.K. has made no preparations for the marriage after a considerable period of time, R. asks when it is to take place and is requested by M.K. to rid him of Gāgaḳ sūra the crow. For four years it has been polluting the pools of milk and mead(?) from which the king and his maharṣis are wont to drink when the monthly ceremonies of the new moon and the full moon have come to an end. R.'s arrow pursues the ugly creature when it appears again and chases it to a rocky isle in the sea, there extracting a promise to leave M.K. alone in future to feed only on carrion; after this the arrow returns to R. with the news. Astounded at his magic powers, the king begins to make preparations for the wedding.) To test the alertness of R.'s mind, M.K. hides Sī. in a temple with a thousand images, commanding her to remain as motionless as they are. Then he informs R. that she has disappeared. When he has conducted a fruitless search, he is advised to go to the temple, where he finds Sī. by tickling the eyes of one image after the other and then, caressing her with tender words he carries her home on his back. When the king appears asking for his daughter, R. who has seen through his ruse, smilingly acquaints him with the fact that she has been found, and the king who is most disconcerted, arranges for her to be fetched from R.'s house by his wife and her retinue. (Sh. Each time before devoting himself to the wedding preparations, M.K. conceals Sī. in a temple, where the numerous images[14] are dressed just like her. When R. realizes what is being done, he goes to the temple with L. in the king's absence, discovers her by tapping the eyes of one statue after another with a flower and carries her home on his back. Receiving news of this from the guardian of the temple, Maharīsī Kalī arrives and seeks to excuse his behaviour as love for Sī.) As Sī. gives a good account of R.'s behaviour (missing in Sh.), the wedding is held after 15 days of celebration and at the time of the full moon. R. is led by Maharīsī Kalī and his disciples to Sī., who is magnificently adorned and sitting upon a throne, and there he is seated at her right hand. When they have partaken of the first meal together, the couple retires. (Sh.:

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[13] Sc. by virtue of his supernatural knowledge.

[14] They are constructed of jewels and precious stones.

After 14 days of celebration R. and Sī. encircle the city seven times in a sumptuously constructed litter).

With great longing in his heart for his parents, R. sets off on the homeward journey laden with gifts from Maharīsī Kalī and accompanied by Sī., who has been exhorted by her mother to be a faithful and devoted wife to her husband. The four enemy princes[15] who have been informed of his approach, advance against R. with their troops and meet him with a hail of arrows, but R. is expecting them and leaves Sī. in a cave to be guarded by L. R. inquires the reason for their enmity and in answer they demand that he shall return Sī. to her adoptive father so that no-one may possess her. When he refuses to do this one of them attacks him with a club, but is struck down with an arrow. At his command two others submit to him and also remain faithful to him later; the fourth not required by R. to bow before him but only to lay his diadem at his feet, is too proud to do so and dies by R.'s hand. The corpse is taken home by his own generals and burned by his father, who swears everlasting enmity towards R.'s house. Passing the region where the Jagīna once lived, being a plain with a flat-topped mountain in the centre, R. draws his brother's attention to its suitability for founding a city (missing in Sh.). When the travellers come to Bĕranta Indra, the king Puspa Rāma who is a descendant of the Dewa zanggī, lord over thunder and lightning and a great ascetic, challenges R. to submit and relinquish his name. R. refuses and informed[16] that the king intends to attack him, he awaits his arrival while L. protects Sī and her retinue. The ensuing battle lasts from noontime to eventide but there is no decisive outcome and Puspa Rāma returns to his city. The following morning R. resumes the battle in spite of Daś.'s entreaty, who has hurried to the scene on hearing the news of the conflict. After a long struggle with magic weapons[17] R. reaches for his arrow, Gandī wātī, which asks him whether it is to slay his opponent, cast him into the sea or make him disappear into the bowels of the earth, but is commanded only to demonstrate the magic power of its owner. The weapon becomes Nāga Skanda Pĕrtāla

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[15] Vide p. 22.
[16] The same characteristic vide p. 22.
[17] C.f. p. 34 and p. 46.

Dewa and pursues Puspa Rāma through the Kĕindrāan, the Sea and the Underworld and finally back to Earth again, bringing him bound before R.; recognizing him as the descendant of Viṣṇu, Puspa Rāma beseeches R. to pardon him and returns to his city after making a covenant, while R. completes his return journey with Daś. (This episode is missing in Sh.)

4

RĀMA EXCLUDED FROM SUCCESSION.

Ro. p. 46-53.

DAŚ. resolves to have R. consecrated as king and entrusts a maharṣi with an astrological assessment of his plans; the findings forecast that the king will not witness R.'s accession to the throne or his happy rule. Daś. ensures that all preparations for the ceremony of consecration are made for an auspicious day; his plan receives general acclamation as R. is well loved by all, on account of his meritorious character. Puroṣta Maharīsī who has been summoned to officiate at the ceremonies, is in agreement, but enquires about the promise of succession for Balyā dārī's sons and is told that Daś. has already come to an understanding with her. The hunch back dwarf who has eaves-dropped[1] on the conversation, informs Balyā dārī of what has been said, but she is favourably disposed towards R.'s consecration and refuses to interfere. Prompted, however, by the dwarf's assertion that she and her sons may well lose all their influence when R. becomes king, she reminds Daś. of his promise the very next day, which is the day before the solemn occasion. The king is overcome by sorrow and buries his head in his cloak; Balyā dārī stands guard at the door, preventing anyone from entering and has R. called by four ladies-in-waiting; then she informs him on instruction from Daś. that he is not to become king. R. declares himself to be in complete agreement with his brother's accession, as it will permit him to live in accordance with his ascetic inclinations, and so returns to his house to make himself ready to retire in solitude.

Since the appointed time for the consecration has come to pass with the advent of the new moon and Daś. has still not left his palace, Puroṣta Maharīsī goes to visit him there, but he is only able to gain access to him and learn of his change of heart after exchanging a few words with Balyā dārī. He reproaches the concubine bitterly, predicts the king's death when R. leaves the city and informs the courtiers standing outside what has befallen; they announce their intention of following R. R. takes leave of Daś. in his palace and Mandū dārī at her house. He then gets into his carriage ready to depart with Sī. who does not wish to abandon him. L. implores his mother for permission to accompany the couple and is allowed to do so as he has no prospect of acceding to the throne by remaining at court. He divests himself of all his princely finery and joins them. The three travellers say their farewells to Mandū dārī and set out in the company of courtiers and their families. Immediately Daś. dies. When the news is brought to R., and he is called upon to return to perform the obsequies, he refuses to do so and entrusts all the preparations to his brothers and the royal counsellors. The travellers rest when evening comes, and during the night R., Sī. and L. leave their sleeping followers and penetrate into the heart of the forest on foot.

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[1] In the text there is nothing to suggest that it is a female servant (St. p. 39).

The following morning the courtiers assume from the tracks of the carriage which has returned of its own accord to the city,[2] that R. has also gone back, and are most disappointed when they do not find him there. Asking for Mandū dārī's instructions, they are referred by her to Balyā dārī and are hardly able to control their anger at her and her sons. Puroṣta Maharīsī occasions the king's body to be laid to rest in a gold coffin, studded with precious stones. At the holy man's consent Bhar. and Śatr. assume the responsibilities of government, though they are at first loth to do so, and dispatch four generals to locate R. who, being the only legitimate son of Daś., should officiate at the obsequies and then accede to the throne. After Puroṣta Maharīsī has exhorted Bhar. and Śatr. not to forget their elder brothers R. and L., he returns to his own country, escorted by his courtiers, to whom he commends the young princes. Reigning in concord and equity Bhar. and Śatr. try to trace R.'s whereabouts and make preparations for the king's burial while Mandū dārī mourns and devotes herself to good works. (This section is completely missing in Sh.; q.v. p. 29.

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[2] It is, then, a magic one.

5

RĀMA'S TRAVELS.

Ro. p. 53-59, Sh. p. 74-79.

R and his companions come to the hermitage[1] of Anggasa dewa the maharṣi, who calls upon him to practice his ascetic disciplines there. R. does not accept as he yearns for greater solitude, but he is given fruit and passes the night with the holy man. When he departs the following morning Anggasa dewa advises him to follow the track leading to the right, which will take him to a great ascetic. After traversing many forests the wayfarers come to a wide river without a ford in the forest of Candra puspa; they cross it by the help of Gandī wātī the arrow, which has been given precise instructions by R. before he shoots it to the far bank of the river. After a while the three companions come to a small village nestling at the foot of a mighty mountain. From a man who is going to the river to fish, they learn that the name of the overlord is Kīkūkan and so announce their arrival. Kīkūkan comes to the visitors in haste and so great is his pleasure at meeting R., that he relates how he was once a subject of Dasarata Cakrawātī. He goes on to tell them of a wonderful catch he made while he was fishing. He once caught three mighty fish and found three immense golden stones[2] in their stomachs; according to the inscription on them a quarter was intended for the poor and three quarters for the grandsons of those who had cast them into the sea, and so he distributed them accordingly. Mindful of his intention to become an ascetic, R. will not accept Kīkūkan's offer to reign in his stead but remains his guest for a considerable period of time; Kīkūkan strives hard to please R. and L., and his wife cares devotedly for Sī. When they journey on across high mountains and broad plains, the travellers come to the abode of Wīrāta saktī[3] the holy man and his eight disciples. R. leaves L. behind with one of his arrows[4] to protect Sī., enters the hermitage and with a sign of his hand[5] silences the recitation of the Wedām and the ringing of the small bells. Informed[6] of the arrival of R. and his companions, the maharṣi receives him cordially and when he is asked, says that he has practised asceticism for 700 years. His elder brother is Sang Pĕrdāna[7]; he is the same age as Dasarata Cakrawātī and his brother, Bĕgāwān Kutāma[8], the same age as Dasarata Rāman; therefore R.'s family is well known to him. The holy man invites R. to practise asceticism with him; R. declines as he wishes to do this in solitude. At the maharṣi's request he calls L. and Sī. who are received with good wishes[9]; while his disciples once more intone the recitation from the Wedām, their master devotes himself to his guests and instructs R. in all the magic arts during his five-day stay. Journeying on, R. and his companions reach the forest of Indra pawānam which is inhabited by rākṣasas. In order to win Rāv.'s favour, a rākṣasa hunter[10] makes off with Sī. who was walking in file between the two brothers. When L. takes an arrow from his quiver to slay the fleeing robber, it slips from his hand. Alerted by this, R. turns around, hears what has happened from L., kills the daemon with Gandī wātī and catches the falling Sī. in his arms. They settle down to the ascetic life in a beautiful well-watered region near the mountain of Indra pawānam which R. deems a suitable spot to build a city one day. R. and Sī. live in one hut and L. in a smaller one. Not only does L. devote himself to ascetic practices but busies himself daily by collecting flowers and fruits in the forest. By sacrifice and recitation of the Wedām, R. calls into being from twelve bundles of grasses and flowers, seven ladies and five men; the ladies are to wait on Sī. and two of the men become L.'s servants.

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[1] *pĕrtapāan.*

[2] This story is not related very clearly.

[3] Ro. p. 57 Wīrā saktī.

(Sh.: After overcoming the four princes[11] R. decides not to return home because his father has chosen Bhar. as heir to the throne; L. and Sī. declare that they will not abandon him. Through forests and over plains the travellers finally come to a forest[12] which the indras use for their recreation and in which a multitude of flowers grow instead of trees. There they meet a maharṣi, who invites R. to stay with him. R. refuses, however, as he wishes to behold the wondrous works of Dewāta mulyā rāya[13] and travels on, leaving L. behind. L. is given a sign(?) by the holy man and is warned about the two pools with clear and cloudy water in a forest which he and his companions must traverse. After three days he overtakes the others and while journeying with them, he goes in search of water for R. who is taking a rest under a tree with Sī. He defends her from a rākṣasa which has assumed the form of a bird, slays it and finally reaches the two pools mentioned by the maharṣi. Impatient at his protracted absence, R. and Sī. set out after him and come up with him at the pool; not heeding his warning they bathe in the pool with clear water and are changed into apes as the holy man predicted. They swing around quite happily in the trees and disport themselves shamelessly. L. catches them in a noose fashioned from his cloak and changes them back to human form by immersing them in the cloudy water of the second pool. He fears that Sī. may give birth to an ape; on his advice, therefore, R.'s sperm is removed from Sī.'s body by massage. R. has it rolled up in a leaf and carried by Bāyu bāta[14], the wind, to Dewī Anjatī who is practising asceticism, with her mouth wide open, in the sea; when she has received it, her gaping mouth closes. She conceives and bears a son Han., an ape with a human face and earrings, these latter being in accordance with R.'s express wishes. At L.'s suggestion the three companions journey on to the land of the rākṣasas with the intention of subjugating it. Once R. has slain a headless monster with eyes and mouth in its belly, when it attacked them, the travellers cross a river and settle down at a spot where the Jagīna once lived. At this place, a plain in the middle of which there is a mountain and a spring, R. declares that he will found a city, if his father will provide him with an adequate number of inhabitants, since Bhar. and Śatr. have been promised Mandūra pūri nāgarā and another realm[15]. R. builds his home on one mountain and L. on another; after his daily ascetic exercises L. roams the forest from morning to evening time. The story which then follows tells how the body of the prince slain by R. is taken home; vide p. 25).

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[4] Purwā gandī by name.
[5] *sharaṭ* (Arabic) "stipulation", read *ishārat* "sign".
[6] C.f. p. 23 note 13.
[7] Vide p. 39.
[8] Vide p. 38.
[9] *sa'ūṣānī.*
[10] He is called Purba itā.
[11] Vide p. 24.

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[12] Called Dālīnam or Dālīlam; this is glossed with *ěrtīña rimba mānikam* "that means the forest of jewels".

[13] *hamba hěndak mělīhat tamāsha kěkayāan Dewāta mulya rāya* "I want to see the spectacle of D.m.r.'s development of power (?) (*kěkayāan* to *kāya* "rich").

[14] C.f. the form of the name on p. 39.

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[15] Its name, سفلر بوکب , could be a distortion of Isfahā bōgā اسفها بوکب .

6

RĀVAṆA'S JOURNEY TO THE SUN.

Ro. p. 59-63, Sh. p. 79-80.

ONE day while Rāv. is dallying with his innumerable wives, he is irritated by the rays of the sun,[1] which he decides to subjugate. He intimates his intentions to Vi. (not named in Sh.) and his brother-in-law Bĕrga sīngā; the former advises him against the undertaking but the latter is in agreement and is appointed governor of Laṅkā for the duration of Rāv.'s absence. Decked out in full battle regalia, the king flies sun-wards in his magic chariot but in the etherial regions he is forced to turn back by the scorching rays of the sun. Returning to Laṅkā after nightfall he finds the gate of the city closed, but when he tries to enter the city over the wall he slips on Bĕrga sīngā's gigantic tongue, with which the latter, in the execution of his duties as watchman has encircled the city; thinking it is a serpent, Rāv. cleaves the obstacle with his sword and only realizes his mistake when he hears the agonizing shrieks of the other falling in the throes of death into the sea. He goes to the palace and informs his wife what has befallen; the following morning the death of the innocent governor becomes generally known and influential dignitaries express their concern at the possible consequences of the deed. Bĕrga sīngā's pregnant wife Śū., the sister of Rāv., goes in haste to the sea-shore and bewails the man who has suffered death; she returns home, and when her time has been fulfilled she gives birth to a son Darsasīngā. After a considerable period of time has elapsed, Rāv. hears the news and bids his nephew come to him. Śū. tells her son of Rāv.'s invitation, but when he hears about him he begins to ask for his own father; she tells him that Rāv. has sent him to conquer the Kĕindrāan and dismisses the King's emissary with an excuse. From his seventh to his twelfth year the boy is instructed in magic by Maharīsī Gandārī, after which time he again asks for his father and is told by his mother that he has gone to do battle in the Underworld. One day he is irritated by the discourtesy of his playmates and when he maltreats them they challenge him to prove his strength by taking revenge on Rāv., his father's murderer. When he questions his mother insistently concerning the circumstances of Bĕrga sīngā's death, she tells him everything and gives him his father's books on astrology, from which he learns Rāv.'s future. After testing the validity of the statements contained in them, Maharīsī Gandārī advises his pupil to acquire the sword Pĕmĕnda wālī[2] by devoting himself to the ascetic life for twelve years, then to bathe in a holy pool and throw a feast for a thousand brahmins; only then may he kill Rāv. Darsasīngā seizes the brahmins and imprisons them in a cave until such time as he may need them; then, supplied with food every week by his mother, he devotes himself to asceticism in a bamboo clump chosen by her as suitable, as it is in the middle of the forest of Indra pawānam where there are no people. (Immediately after killing Bĕrga sīngā, Rāv. calls his son to him. His mother tells him of his father's fate and advises him to live in the forest as an ascetic instead of going to court. Both journey into the forest and Darsasīngā practises asceticism in a bamboo clump, while being provided with food by Śū.)

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[1] As the context makes clear, the *bīnī adaptha* (ادفث, from Sanskrit *āditya* "sun", and written ادتى) in Sh. on p. 79, are the rays (S t. note 157 p. 243) not the wives of the sun.

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[2] Vide p. 41.

7

RĀVAṆA AND VĀLIN.

Ro. p. 63-75

RĀV. decides to visit Indrajit in the Këindrāan with Mandū dākī but pays no heed to Vi.'s warning that he should not expose his wife to the perils of the long journey and, mindful only of his imperial power, he sets off in his flying chariot[1] accompanied by a great host to journey to his son's court[2]. The ape-king Vālin[3] and his retinue are diverting themselves in his jungle palace with the friendly ape-king Sambūrāna. He notices the swaying vehicle receding into the distance, is greatly angered at Rāv., whom he rightly presumes to be riding in it, for daring to fly across his territory and desires to do battle with him. Hanumat who is at V.'s court wishes greatly to behold his magnificent physique and offers to bring the enemy back captive; but V. will only permit him to watch the battle with Rāv. and followed by Han., he hurls himself into the air for the attack. V. causes Mandū dākī to faint when he hails Rāv. in a voice of thunder, and reproaches him for his unruly behaviour by flying over the king and his guests. Rāv. grasps an arrow which he has acquired by asceticism, capable of generating immense volcanic fires, and shoots it at V. When his opponent extinguishes the flames with torrential rain magically exuded from his skin, Rāv. seizes a dart which has been given to him by Bĕtara Brahmā for cases of extreme peril. Before he can shoot it, V., who does not wish to incur the god's anger by rendering the arrow harmless, swoops on him, seizes his wife and hurls him into the sea with his chariot; Rāv.'s army flees to Lankā. Sambūrāna and the courtiers wonder greatly when V. returns with Rāv.'s wife; V. declares that he will have her as wife and will not surrender her, after which Sambūrāna returns to his own country, laden with gifts and ready to defend his land in the event of an attack launched by Rāv. V. goes back to his city of Lagūr Katagīna, celebrates his marriage and lives with his new wife, with whom he sleeps in the form of the beautiful youth he had once been[4] before bathing in the forest pool. Mandū dākī conceives; the ladies of the court are appointed as guardians[5] and the king, considering his brother Sugrīva[6] unequal to the task, commands Han. to deliver forty human princesses to him within twelve days, to be companions for his wife. Han. achieves this in a single day by luring them in the form of a peacock and then abducting them. In order to be near Mandū dākī, V. does not leave the palace after the seventh month of her pregnancy. Rāv. emerges from the sea with his chariot, searches unsuccessfully for his enemy and decides to request help from V.'s teacher[7], Nīla cakrū, to win back his wife. When Rāv. appears at the hermitage, the ascetics[8] all take flight in great haste, leaving their Wedāms and ritual paraphernalia behind[9]. Only Nīla cakrū calmly finishes his recitation of the Wedām and brusquely[10] demands to know his business. Shedding copious tears Rāv. explains, and the maharṣi promises to restore his wife if Rāv. will solemnly swear to leave the homes of the ascetics in peace. After the other hermits have returned and been pacified by Rāv.'s reverential treatment of their leader, Nīla cakrū and four of his disciples go to V.'s court with Rāv. in his flying chariot. Leaving Rāv. outside the city, he goes to the gates and sends one of his disciples[11] to announce his arrival to the king, who is holding an audience. He comes forth with his retinue to meet the holy man and invites him to come into the city; once V. has promised to grant the request which has brought him hither, he agrees to do so. When he has been entertained at the palace, the maharṣi declares that V., the son of the King of the Indras, will bring great honour upon himself from all gods[12], if he grants him his wish, the nature of which he whispers to him. The sovereign's objection that Mandū dākī is pregnant by him is overruled by Nīla cakrū, who promises to preserve the child for him by performing an operation on her and to intercede on his behalf with Dewāta mulyā rāya for another wife. In a secluded garden the child is cut out of the mother's body and sewn into the body of a goat; the wounds are healed by a charm. The holy man gives Rāv. Mandū dākī with her ladies-in-waiting, and Rāv. returns home when he has reaffirmed his promise to spare the hermits' dwellings; Nīla cakrū then goes to V. to procure a new wife for him. Han. is dispatched to the mountain of Indra pawānam to collect the flowers required for the sacrificial ceremony; to the astonishment of the assembled company, he brings the whole mountain, from the slopes of which the maharṣi's disciples pick the flowers. Bundles of grass and flowers are placed in front of the four fires situated one at each corner of the spot chosen for the sacrifice; by reciting the Wedām twice Nīla cakrū first changes the bundles into a frog and then into a beautiful woman called Dewī Bĕrma Komāla. When the fires are extinguished, a seven storey palace rises from the place of sacrifice; the wedding ceremony is performed within. The birth of V.'s son is at hand, and when the holy man has decided that his name shall be Srī Anggāda, he returns home. Apart from Anggāda, V. also receives another son called Anūla from his second wife. Han. now decides to subject himself to ascetic disciplines and to go in search of his father, for the time appointed for their meeting is at hand; V. allows him to leave on condition that he does not stray far; so Han. makes his forest home in a tamarind tree and lives from its fruit. V. also wishes to devote himself to the ascetic life. When he has appointed Surgīva as his representative, he drives his club into the ground before the palace gate and at a propitious time ascertained beforehand by Jāmbavat[13], he journeys to the mountain of Antā īdī where many hermits have their dwellings. V. observes the various kinds of ascetic practice[14] and enquires the purpose of them, but he will not disclose the reason for his own asceticism until it has been accomplished. Forthwith he begins with the mortification of the flesh[15], which he has set himself to endure. (The whole section missing in Sh.)

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[1] It is called Indra puspa loka.

[2] Tanjoḳ māya purwā.

[3] Mal. Balyā (Sh.: Balya) Rāja.

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[4] Vide p. 38.

[5] *pĕngasuh.*

[6] Mal. Mahārāja Sugrīwa, usually just Sugrīwa.

[7] *gūrū.*

[8] *brahmāna dān mahājogī.*

[9] Amongst which are conch trumpets and little bells

[10] He addresses him as *hai Rawāna* (without his title!).

[11] Bĕgāwān Kānaḳ or Kānū.

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[12] The 33 Kodī's he Dewa zanggī and rāsī mūnī (c.f. for the latter p. 22 note 12).

[13] Mal. (dātoḳ) patih Jambuwāna.

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[14] Some of them stand for thousands of years on one leg with their arms entwined around their bodies, others hang head downwards from trees for an equal period of time and yet others have buried themselves up to their waists in the ground.

[15] He intends to sleep, lying crosswise (? *merang*) for 300 years, lying 300 years on his right and 300 years on his left side and finally 300 years face down.

8

GAUTAMA AND HIS FAMILY.

Ro. p. 75-85.

GAUTAMA[1] the son of Daś's doorkeeper, Sang Pĕrdāna, is living the ascetic life with his wife Dewī Indra. In the absence of her husband, she commits adultery with one of the dewas and begets a son called Vālin, for whom, supposing himself to be the father, Gautama predicts a great future. Dewī Indra's daughter is informed of her mother's action by her husband, Añjanā[2], but she is induced to remain silent by the gift of a casket containing a magic stone[3] once presented by a prince of the Kĕindrāan. When Gautama has withdrawn to the mountains again to practise his asceticism, his wife errs once more, this time with a prince of the mambang and gives birth to Surgīva, whom Gautama likewise believes to be his own son. When V. and Su. have grown into handsome youths, Rāv. bids them come to him; instead of obeying, they slay his emissary and V. threatens to abduct Rāv.'s wife, overturn his chariot and maltreat him[4]. One day V. sees the magic casket in his sister's possession and because she will not give it to him he tries to snatch it from her grasp; she swallows it, and greatly angered at V.'s violence, she betrays her mother's secret. The mother protests her complete innocence. Gautama then leads her two sons to the pools with clear and cloudy water[5] in the forest of the maharsis, has them immersed and swears to Dewāta mulyā rāya that they will be changed to apes if they are bastards, or assume god-like form if they are legitimate. The first occurs; they travel on through the forest and come to Lagūr[6] the kingdom of the apes, where they become king and regent. V. strikes up

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1. Mal. Bĕgāwān Kutāma.
2. Mal. Dewī Anjātī.
3. *cūpū maniḳ astagīna.*
4. C.f. p. 34.
5. C.f. p. 30.
6. C.f. the form of the name p. 35.

a friendship with the ape-king Sambūrāna who gives him many wives; because of an irregular relationship with one of his female servants, Sambūrāna has been changed into an ape by Bĕtāra Indra's curse. Gautama returns home sorrowing deeply and casts out his wife. She brings down a curse on her daughter, saying that her mouth will remain open for a hundred years because she has betrayed her secret, then she goes to the Kĕindrāan; Añjanā straightway begins to suffer from the effects of the curse, becomes an ascetic and lives on the point of a needle in the midst of the sea, while her father also devotes himself to the ascetic life again. R. sitting on a lotus flower[7], sees Añjanā and falls passionately in love with her. He has two drops of sperm taken to her mouth by Rāja Bāyū ītū; her mouth shuts, she conceives and returns to her now deserted family home. At the propitious hour of a Friday noon she gives birth to a son in the form of a white ape with earrings. The disembodied voice of her grandfather, Sang Pĕrdāna, instructs her to name the child Han.[8] and declares that his father is the man who recognizes his earrings. Immediately Han. drinks his mother's breasts dry and when he entreats her for more, she tells him to eat the red fruits as food; to Añjanā's surprise, shooting stars jump from his mouth when he speaks. He goes on a search through the wood in a westerly direction and when he is unsuccessful he turns towards the east, where he sees the rising sun; thinking that it is a red fruit, he leaps at it and is consumed by its rays, as it gazes upon him wonderingly. Lingering on the sea shore, Sang Pĕrdāna sees something akin to a shooting star fall from the heavens and plunge into the ocean, causing it to seethe with great heat; he realizes that his grandson has just been killed by the sun and wants to wage war against the culprit with Vālin and Sugrīva. Hearing Sang Pĕrdāna's vociferous threats, the sun realizes who has been slain and summons him to gather up Han.'s remains; at Sang Pĕrdāna's and V.'s command the fish undertake this task. Standing over him for one hour the Sun brings Han. back to life and endows him who has embarked upon the quest, with magic powers in war. Returning to his relations, Han. is advised by Sang Pĕrdāna to become an ascetic and to go in search of his father, and receives a gift of several hundred charms. When Sang Pĕrdāna returns home with Vālin and Sambūrāna to instruct them in the magic arts, Han. goes in haste to his mother and recounts all his adventures. She teaches him about the nature of the sun and about the edible fruits from the trees which he has uprooted from the ground. At the age of twelve Han. enquires about his father, whereupon his mother tells about the instructions given to her by the disembodied voice; from this time he lives as an ascetic and provides his mother with food. (The whole section is missing in Sh.) Returning to Laṅkā with his reinstated wife, Rāv.[9] calls his three sons, his eight brothers and all his vassals to assemble and declares his intention of waging war against V. Of the whole gathering only Indrajit dares to advise his father against this course of action, bearing in mind the promise[10] which Rāv. made to Nīla cakrū. Rāv.'s brother Kumbhakarṇa cannot accept Indrajit's objection and offers to attack V. himself as he is bound by no promises. He is greatly honoured by the presentation of Rāv.'s own robe and marches against Lagūr Katagīna, laying waste the dwellings of the hermits on the way. The inhabitants flee to V.'s city; Sugrīva assures them of every protection against any opponent except Rāv.; V. alone would be summoned to do battle with him. V. practising asceticism for seven days and seven nights bewilders the rākṣasa army, which has come within a day's march of the city, by magic, and causes it to retreat; before crossing to Laṅkā they reach the sea shore and destroy the mountain gardens of the maharṣis who have taken refuge there. On his return Kumbhakarṇa submits his report to Rāv. in the audience-chamber and gives an account of his battle with Katī Bihāra in order to give proof of V.'s great strength. Indrajit and Vi. smile knowingly at each other and Rāv. declares the audience at an end, whereupon Kumbhakarṇa returns to his kingdom. (Sh. does not include this episode.)

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[7] Vide p. 20.

[8] Mal. Mahā rāja Hanūman, usually simply Hanūman.

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[9] She teaches him a thousand magic arts of war, stratagems for battles in the sea, on the earth and in the underworld and for battles against all dewas, indras, pĕrīs and mambangs and magic means of killing jinns and rākṣasas.

[10] Vide p. 36.

9

ŚŪRPAṆAKHĀ AND THE PRINCES.

Ro. p. 85-89, Sh. p. 80-82.

ONE day when L. is roaming in the forest he sees a sword falling from the heavens towards a bamboo bush; the sword, named Candra wālī, is Bĕtāra Indra's reward for the ascetic life practised there by Darsasīngā. Intending to take it to R., L. catches the weapon and tests its edge on some nearby trees. Thereby it cuts through the bamboo bush; thinking that the forest is devoid of men, L. is most surprised when the corpse of Darsasīngā, killed in the pursuit of his ascetic practices, slumps before his feet. After testing the sword once more L. takes it to R.; because he uses the bow as a weapon the latter allows him to keep it. When Śū. brings her son food she finds his severed head and instantly concludes that L. is responsible for the deed. She goes in search of her cousin, the rākṣasa prince Darkālah sīna, and tells him that L., infuriated that she has refused his declaration of love, has slain her son. The prince wishes to declare war on R. and L. but his counsellor, Sĕmandārī sīna, is not in favour of this and reminds him of R.'s feats in the past and the divine origin[1] of both. Instead, he advises Śū. to try and win R.'s love in the guise of a beautiful woman; once he has become her husband she should deliver him up to the revenge of the rākṣasas. Accompanied by two of her cousin's generals, the daemonic woman goes to R.'s habitation, appears before him in seductively beautiful form[2] and manifests her desire. R. refers the lascivious woman to L. who is still unmarried, but he is lost in meditation and doesn't even notice her. Śū. returns angrily to R. and Sī. and derides Sī. who weeps over the slight which she has suffered; R. decides to chastise the malefactor, though he will not put her to death because she is a

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[1] They are no ordinary people but are specially created by Dewāta mulyā rāya.

[2] She changes by shaking herself.

डा. डिल्ली रमण रेग्मी
कल्याणी रेग्मी स्मारक
पुस्तकालय
3090

woman. He persuades Śū. to go to his brother with a letter written on her back; the communication contains instructions to L. to cut off Śū.'s nose and also her hand because she had pointed scornfully at Sī.'s countenance with it. Roused from his deep contemplation L. informs Śū. of R.'s order and grasps her by the hair as she tries to escape, but she, assuming once more her daemonic form, whisks him up into the air so that he may fall to his death. Protected by the prayers of all dewas and indras, L. carries out R.'s instruction; falling to the ground with him, the rākṣasī flees with her companions to Darkālah sīna who immediately summons Sĕmandārī sīna to draw up his army. (Sh.: L. is accustomed to hacking at the trees on either side of the path when he takes his daily stroll through the forest and on one occasion, he severs Darsasīngā's head from his body, while he is practising asceticism in a bamboo bush. L. is greatly surprised that there is a man in the deserted forest and returns home. Śū. arrives at the scene with food for her son, discovers the head of the slain man and rightly assuming L. to be responsible for the deed, she departs in haste to R. whose affection she tries to arouse by changing into a beautiful woman[3]. R. sends her to L. with her professions of love but he is preoccupied with his ascetic pursuits and doesn't even look at her. Assuming her daemonic form[3] again, she seizes him angrily and carries him so high into the air that the earth appears no bigger than an egg. L. cuts off the rākṣasī's nose and protected by the prayer of the *anaḳ bidyādarī,* he reaches the earth without hurt, together with Śū. who also plummets to the ground. Śū. returns home in haste and veiling herself, lies down in her bed chamber.)

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[3] Vide note 2 p. 41.

10

THE BATTLE WITH THE RĀKṢASA ARMY.

Ro. p. 89-93.

THE hosts of the rākṣasa prince surround the mountain inhabited by R. and launch the attack. The flying arrows and the battle cries cannot escape his attention, but unaware of the enmity towards him, he dispatches L. to bring back news of the happenings; hearing the latter's report he arms himself with bow and arrow[1]. L. requests permission to face the enemy single-handed but R. refuses, for they are never to be separated in life or death. Thousands of rākṣasas are put to death by R.'s arrows and L.'s sword; the rest take flight but are driven back by Darkālah sīna and once more suffer terrible losses. The counsellor Sĕmandāri[2] sīna, the brother of one of Daś.'s ministers, surrenders to R.'s arrow Gandī wātī, which metes out death to the remaining enemies with the exception of the prince. He attacks R. from his chariot, but L. kills both horse and charioteer, destroys the chariot and puts the enemy to death. Sĕmandārī sīna is given the lands of the dead prince in fief and returns thither, informing the family of their lord's fate and his own enfeoffment. The prince's son declares that he will embark on the ascetic life to acquire magic powers by means of which he may take revenge on R., but Sĕmandārī sīna accounts this as an undertaking which is doomed to failure. Accompanied by a host of men and women devoted to his service, the prince then sets out on his way to Rāv. (The whole episode is missing in Sh.).

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[1] *yang bĕrnāma anarcyang sābūrā wawānam dālam sulūk ītū* "who in that famous verse is called a. s. w".

[2] C.f. the spelling on p. 41.

11

SĪTĀ'S ABDUCTION.

Ro. p. 93-97, Sh. p. 82-85.

RĀV. is filled with longing for Śū. whom he has not seen for such a long time, and his wife has her summoned by one of the court ladies. Concealed behind a curtain, Śū feigns illness and promises to come as soon as she is healed. Two of Rāv.'s messengers return with the news. Hereafter, he visits his sister personally and tearing the cloak from the veiled, prostrate woman, he realizes her condition and decides to punish L. when he has heard her fraudulent story. He summons two rākṣasas having the semblance of dogs[1], sons of Gāgaḳ nāsir, and commands them to arouse Sī.'s covetousness by appearing before R.'s hermitage as gold and silver gazelles. When they object that R. possesses great magic powers and is, at this very moment, sacrificing to Dewāta mulyā rāya to acquire still more supernatural gifts, Rāv. dispatches their father Gāgaḳ nāsir to interrupt the ceremony by casting down a piece of beef at the place. Filled with forebodings of death he sets off, is sighted by L. while he is hovering over the place of sacrifice and is killed by R. who hurls a fire-brand at him which pursues him into the ocean and finally into a mountain cave. (The episode is missing in Sh.) When Gāgak nāsir does not return, Rāv. divines his fate and is further enraged at the arrival of Darkālah sīna's son with the news of his father's death (missing in Sh.); he then flies in his chariot to *tānah Basrāh* (Sh.; *Tabah bas*) with the two rāksasas and sends them to R.'s house. Sī. is delighted by the two gazelles and begs R. to capture them for her. As she persists in her request, R. sets off with his bow and arrow, leaving her in the care and protection of L., with the intention of shooting the animals which he however knows cannot be caught. When R. has been drawn far away on the hunt, Rāv. simulates R.'s voice and calls for help three times. In vain, L. tries to pacify Sī. by reminding her of R.'s heroism (Sh.: He recounts all his previous feats to her.) She accuses him of desiring his brother's death so that he may possess her himself; weeping at this insult, L. goes in search of R. with four brahmins (Sh. servants) but before he leaves he draws a circle around Sī's hut and bids the earth hold fast the foot of any man who attempts to cross it. Rāv. appears outside the hut disguised as a brahmin and begs for alms. Sī. says she can only give him the flowers she is holding in her hand; Rāv. is quite satisfied but asks her to reach over the circle to give them to him, as he cannot go any farther. Sī. obeys, comes down from the hut and is seized by Rāv. who carries her off in his chariot. Sī. tears her cloak into pieces and drops the tatters to the ground to provide R. with a trail.

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[1] Their names are Mahā loka (Sh.: Martanja) and Pĕrjanggī (Prābū janggī) sūra (Sh : Takī [?]).

12

RĀVAṆA AND JAṬĀYUS.

Ro. p. 97-100, Sh. p. 85-87.

JAṬĀYUS[1] the bird sees Rāv. flying away with a beautiful woman in his chariot, surmises that he has abducted the wife of his friend R. and reproaches him vehemently for breaking his promise to Nabī Adam. Jaṭāyus tears up rocks and trees with the powerful updraught of his wings when Rāv. grows impatient of his interference; he attacks Rāv. and deprives him of several heads which grow again at once. The opponents fight each other with magic fire, magic rain, rocks, trees and a club (Rāv.), until Rāv. orders his chariot to bear him to Jaṭāyus, angrily assumes his full stature with ten heads and twenty arms and dashes the birds wings to pieces. The latter recovers from his injury immediately and raising a storm by the beating of his mighty wings, he makes Rāv.'s chariot crash to the ground; once again he strikes off several of his opponents heads, but to no avail, for Rāv., who has fallen eighty yards from his chariot climbs aboard once more and flies up to meet him. When the battle has dragged on for seven days and seven nights without reaching any decisive point, Rāv. proposes that they should each disclose to the other the whereabouts of their soul and so put an end to the fighting. Sī. tries to warn Jaṭāyus by a poem in bird language, but he does not understand and accepting the proposal in all good faith, names the base of his wings as the seat of his soul, while Rāv. falsely declares that the source of life for him reposes in his big toe. Too late does the bird discover the stratagem when the battle has already been resumed, and stricken by Rāv., he falls to the ground in the throes of death. Before Rāv. can carry her off again, Sī. drops her ring into its beak. (The episode is much briefer in Sh.: During the

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1. Ro: Jĕntāyū (c.f. p. 16 note 15), Sh.: Catāyū brīsū. son of Mahārisī Gūru, brother of Aran[2], the plunderer of the moon and of Garūda dibūkit Ḳāf.

battle lasting from the morning until the evening Jaṭāyus shoots off(!) several of Rāv.'s heads and arms on a number of occasions, but they grow again immediately. The dwelling place of his soul(?)[2] is finally pierced by Rāv. and he plunges earthwards). Rāv. then flies to Laṅkā with Sī. While the mortally wounded Jaṭāyus is imploring Dewāta mulyā rāya to accord him the favour of meeting R. before his end, two birds settle on a nearby tree and discuss the way in which Jaṭāyus has acted. One of them thinks that Jaṭāyus has received a just reward for interfering but the other maintains that his action was duty bound. They then fly away.

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[2] *maka suddah ītū Mahārāja Rawāna pūn mĕnĕtaḳ bāwa* (read *ñāwa*): *Catāyū*... "And then M. R. clove Catāyū's soul (i.e. the dwelling place of his soul) asunder".

13

THE ABDUCTION IS DISCOVERED.

Ro. p. 100-102, Sh. p. 87-88, 92-94.

UNABLE to catch the two gazelles, R. slays them with his arrow Gandī wātī (not mentioned in Sh.) and returns home with them. L. comes out to meet him and when he is asked why Sī. has been abandoned, he replies that he heard R.'s voice calling for help. Deeply troubled, the two brothers go in haste to their hermit's dwelling and discover that Sī. has disappeared; her attendants do not know where she is. (Sh.: they say that a brahmin has abducted her.) R. faints on Sī.'s couch and remains in this state for forty days and nights (Sh.: four days and nights); during this time L. sits motionless with his head between his knees, he does not sleep, neither does he take food nor enjoy the pleasures of love (Sh. does not mention the latter). A celestial voice praises L. for his asceticism and foretells that R. will be parted from Sī. for twelve years (missing in Sh.). When fifty days have elapsed (Sh.: after five days), R. awakes, and at L.'s suggestion the two princes go in search of Sī. after sending her attendants back to Maharīsī Kalī. The distressing news is brought to Mandūra pūri nĕgāra (!) where Mandū dārī is overcome by sorrow on receiving it (not mentioned in Sh. who adds the story of the buffalo at this point). (Sh.: R. and L. discover the tatters of Sī.'s cloak[1] and meet a bird with four wives, who jeers at R. when asked about Sī., saying that R. was incapable of looking after one woman whereas he was responsible for four wives. In order to punish him R. causes him to be blinded, by praying to Dewāta mulyā rāya, at which his four wives fly away. Naming Rāv. as the thief, another bird[2] is provided at its own wish with a long neck to facilitate the search for food, once R. has offered up a prayer on its behalf. Trapped by its long neck and taken away by a youth to be sold, it once again meets R. and L. but its freedom is purchased by one of R.'s rings. Instead of its long neck it is given four wives to gather its food.

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[1] Vide p. 45.

[2] A heron (*bāngau*).

14

THE PRINCES AND JAṬĀYUS.

Ro. p. 102-104, Sh. p. 94-95.

R is thirsty and dispatches Gandī wātī (not mentioned in Sh.) in search of water; following the arrow L. finds water at the place where it has fallen to the ground and brings it to R. It tastes putrid; wishing to discover the cause, the two brothers find that the water of the river from which L. has drawn is stained with blood and farther upstream they discover the dying Jaṭāyus. When questioned Jaṭāyus relates what has befallen and gives them Sī.'s ring (Sh. does not include the latter detail). R. commends his loyalty and the bird requests that his body be consumed by fire at a place where no man has ever set foot (Sh.: he requests L. and R. to cremate him when he has completed his story) and in addition, asks the princes to visit his brother Dasampānī on their way to Laṅkā, who until now has devoted himself to the ascetic life in the Gandārawānam mountains, being supplied with food twice a month by Jaṭāyus. He relates his brother's story: Once when they were flying to the mount of Ḳāf they came too near to the sun and its rays had burned Dasampānī's wings, who had protected Jaṭāyus with his shadow. Counselled by the sun, he is now living as an ascetic, waiting for the incarnation of Viṣṇu in R. and will be healed when he meets R.'s son Han. (This story is not mentioned in Sh.). Jaṭāyus dies and is burned on a pyre held in R.'s arms, as L. is unable to locate a spot where no man has set foot. (Sh. cites a normal cremation not a miraculous one). R. and L. then continue on their way.

15

VĀLIN AND THE BUFFALO.

Ro. p. 104-107, Sh. p. 88-92.

ON a plain near Lagūr Katagīna there lives a mighty buffalo who kills all the cows of his herd if they are carrying young, in order to prevent the advent of any would-be successor. One cow secretly calves in a cave; the calf grows into a powerful bull, kills his father and becomes leader of the herd (Sh. adds: Sultan Abd-el-malik tells his son this story to be a warning to him). When the buffalo, in wild spirits, destroys some ant-hills, the ants direct him to V. who is a match for him. V. accepts the bull's challenge and a cave is chosen for the contest. (Sh.: The buffalo chooses the cave from various places suggested for the battle: field, wood, cave, mountain summit). Sugrīva who is entrusted with the defence of the palace, is informed by V. that white or red blood flowing from the cave will be a sign of his own death or the death of his enemy. During the ensuing struggle both white and red blood flow out of the cave (Sh.: red blood and foam, thought by Sugrīva to be white blood, flow out). Su. therefore assumes that the two opponents have perished, has the mouth of the cave blocked with boulders and declares himself king; he gives his brother's wife, whom he intends to wed, a week's grace at her own request. During this period V. returns, showers accusations upon him and hurls him into the depths of the forest. Here Su. lives as an ascetic; a mountain rises from the sleep in his eyes and a river springs from the tears he sheds over his misfortune. (Sh.: Su. falls into a tamarind tree, in which he continues to live.)

16

ENCOUNTER WITH HANUMAT.

Ro. p. 107-109.

HAN. decides to go in search of his father and is advised by his grandfather, Sang Pĕrdāna, to go to Vālin, Sugrīva's enemy; his father will be the one who recognizes[1] his ear-rings. On the way to Vālin, Han. becomes very hungry, climbs a tamarind tree, eats his fill of its fruit and becomes aware of L. sitting motionless below and supporting his brother's head in his lap while R. is sleeping. He throws leaves and fruit at him in an effort to disturb him but when this is unsuccessful, he manages to tear R.'s three arrows away after a brief struggle and disappears with them into the foliage of the tree. L. wakens R., tells him what has happened and, because he cannot easily point out the ape in the high tree, he causes it to shrivel up by praying to Dewāta mulyā rāya; since that time tamarind trees have always been stunted. Han. appears; R. recognizes the white ape as his own son by the ear-rings and informs L. Thereupon, Han. clambers down from the tree, bows before R., recites his name and lineage and declares his readiness to follow him instead of going to V. R. commands him to go to his uncle but to appear before him when he remembers his name. Han. goes to V.'s court and is accorded an honourable reception, while R. and L. continue their journeyings. (This episode is missing in Sh.)

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[1] Read *mĕngkĕnal* for *mĕngkĕnāī* (Gerth van Wijk p. 412).

17

ENCOUNTER WITH SUGRĪVA.

Ro. p. 109-112, Sh. p. 95-88.

ONCE again R. is thirsty and commands his arrow to go in search of water which L. shall fetch. It tastes of tears (Sh.: of fish); the river from which it is drawn, flows from a mountain. On this mountain R. and L. discover a pool, the banks of which are piled high with fish bones; here they find a rākṣasa[1] who, when he emerges from a cave, recognizes R. as a descendant of Viṣṇu by the colour of his skin. He declares that he would willingly have followed R. had the appointed hour for him to end his asceticism already come. He advises them to take the path to the right. Descending from the mountain, R. and L. reach a plain and plagued once again by his thirst, R. sends his arrow in search of water. The drink brought by L. tastes of fish (Sh.: tears) which R. believes has been drawn from a rivulet bearing tears and not water. Following its course the princes come to a hill made of the substance secreted from the eyes. When they have bathed in a pool which R. conjures forth with his staff, and have prayed to Dewāta mulyā rāya, R. calls Sugrīva, who emerges from the hillside. (Sh.: After L. has brought the water he lies down under a tamarind tree; R. lays his head in L.'s lap and sleeps four days and four nights but L. does not move. Su. who is in the tree, weeps at this manifestation of brotherly love; one of his tears falls on R.'s chest and wakes him. Thinking that L. has been crying, R. invites him to return home and allow him to continue the tedious journey alone. L. protests against R.'s suspicion and prays to Dewāta mulyā rāya to confirm his assertions. At this the tamarind tree puts forth the pinnate leaves which it still bears instead of the broad ones which it once had. Su. becomes visible and appears before R.) When he is asked to explain his present condition Su. says that his brother V. has stolen his wife, maltreated him and cast him away to this spot. When he hears who R. and L. really are and what has befallen them, he offers them his services to set Sī. free, if they will aid him to oust his brother and instate him. R. agrees, and the three companions set off for the city of the apes.

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[1] His name is Dātī Janggāla; the colour of his skin is like a black cloud but his hair which is seven fathoms long, is as red as glowing tongues of flame.

18

RĀMA'S TRIALS OF STRENGTH.

Ro. p. 112-114, Sh. p. 98-100.

SU. wishes to put R. and L. to the test, to determine whether they are capable of slaying V., who has even triumphed over Rāv. and the rākṣasa Katī bihāra. Therefore he takes them deep into a mighty forest[1] of lontar palms; when R., who is aware of his intentions[2], asks where they are being taken, he explains that they are on the way to Lagūr Katagīna (missing in Sh.). The travellers come to another forest[3] in which innumerable lontar palms are growing and at Sugrīva's request, R. removes it with Gandī wātī after sending L. and Su. aside. When they recover from their swoon, induced by the hissing sound of the arrow, Sugrīva expresses his satisfaction to R., who listens to his words with a smile. (This episode is missing in Sh.).

In yet another forest R. and his companions come across seven gigantic nangka trees which are growing on the back of a mighty serpent and are arranged either in a circle or a line, depending on the coiled or extended position of the serpent. In accordance with Su.'s wishes, R. makes the recumbent monster uncoil by kicking it. He then shatters the seven trees with a single arrow which returns of its own accord and is retrieved by Su. (Sh.: The arrow returns to the quiver by itself.) In another forest the three travellers come to a mountain which towers up to the sky; asking its name R. is informed by Sugrīva that it is the skeleton of Katī bihāra (Sh.: Katī bicara), whom even Rāv. could not overcome and who was finally slain by Vālin. (Sh.: When R. asks whose skeleton is confronting him he is given the required information.) Su. asks R. to clear away the mass of bones with his arrow but R., not deeming it worthy of this honour, kicks it into the sea with his big toe.

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[1] Andana (?) (اندان) by name.

[2] C.f. p. 21.

[3] Called Andawana (?) (اندون).

19

VĀLIN'S DEATH.

Ro. p. 114-117, Sh. p. 100-102.

WHEN R. comes to the approaches of Lagūr Katagīna with L. and Su. he dispatches Su. to the fortress to issue a challenge to Vālin, and proclaim a promise to kill him during the ensuing battle with a single arrow shot from the edge of the wood. Hearing Su.'s shout the ape-king realizes that his brother would not dare face him, without the support of some mighty warrior (Sh.: that it must be a great warrior if he dares challenge him); nevertheless, he accepts the challenge and sends his adversary back to R. in a pitiful condition. R. defends himself against the accusation of treachery, maintaining that he was unable to differentiate between the two brothers because of their great similarity, and then makes Sugrīva distinguishable by binding a root round his body and colouring his anus red with the juice of a coconut palm. When the battle between the brothers has commenced, R. shoots an arrow at V., who catches it in his hand, recounts the true facts of the situation, thereby convincing R. of his innocence, and adds that it would have been a simple matter for him to have liberated Sī. At this R. demands that he shall return the arrow. The king, however, declares this to be impossible, for the arrow which is of Viṣṇu, as R. is also of Viṣṇu, must always reach its target, and he flings the arrow to the ground when R. has in vain tried to snatch it from his grasp; it rises into the air and swerving back pierces V. The wounded king grasps R.'s hand, entrusts him with the care and protection of his wife and his two sons Anggāda and Anīla and recommends the assistance of Han. as the most suitable. Then he drops R.'s hand and passes away. From his body (Sh.: from his head) there rises up to the heavens a glow like that of a cloud in the evening sunlight (Sh.: in the shape of a palm trunk). When V.'s body has been ceremoniously cremated, R. goes to Lagūr Katagīna with L. and Su., where he accords each of the ape-princes[1] position and rank, and reigns as king.

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[1] For their names vide p. 60.

20

RĀMA VISITED BY HIS BROTHERS.

Ro. p. 117-120, Sh. p. 103-106.

IN consequence of her separation from R. and the news of R.'s and L.'s disappearance into the forest in search of Sī, Mandūdari pines away and dies full of sorrow in Mandūra pūrī nĕgāra. (According to Sh. Daś. dies.) Informed of this by Bhar, and Śatr., Purosta Maharīsī commands them to bring news of her death to R. in Lagūr Katagīna (Sh.: when Bhar. and Śatr. have traced R.'s whereabouts to the city of the apes they wish to hand over their kingdom to him.) When the corpse has been entombed in a golden coffin and a regent has been appointed (the latter detail is omitted by Sh.), the rulers undertake the laborious march to Lagūr Katagīna, where R., advised of their approach, goes forth with L. and the ape-princes[1], receives their humble salutations and accompanies them into the city. He refuses, however, to act in accordance with his brothers' wishes and accede to the throne, as his father had determined that it should be theirs. Nevertheless, at Bhar's and Śatr.'s request he gives them his sandals which they attach to their diadems as a symbol of R.'s sovereignty. The princes are entertained and when he has exhorted them to reign in equity and has accompanied them part of the way, (Sh. does not mention this) they return to their kingdom. Sugrīva is greatly moved by the affection which exists between the brothers (not mentioned in Sh.).

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[1] Vide p. 60.

21

ASSEMBLING THE ARMY OF THE APES

Ro. p. 120-130, Sh. p. 106-110.

As Su. is slow to fulfil his obligations in accordance with the agreement, R. who is tormented by his desire for Si., sends his brother L. to admonish him. He finds Su. taking counsel with his advisors concerning the danger which would threaten his realm from Vālin's friend Sambūrāna[1], should he reduce the number of troops in order to reinforce R.; he is informed of the king's consternation but insists on a definite answer concerning the promised military support. Su. requests seven days grace and sends Han. back with L. to R., who hears L.'s report and then summons Han. to appear before him; Han., whose appearance[2] causes R. to marvel greatly, confirms L.'s message. After some time Su. arrives with his army and intimates his fears to R. personally. Thereupon Han. and Sugriva are despatched to Sambūrāna by R. to threaten him and his whole kingdom with destruction by the arrow Gandī wātī unless he submits forthwith to R., the incarnation of Viṣṇu; accomplishing the journey in great haste they arrive at his city, but as night has already fallen and the city gates are barred they pass the night outside under a portico. Following Han.'s advice they profess themselves emissaries of Vālin, are allowed to enter the city immediately in the morning and are ushered into the audience chamber before the king. Sambūrāna then has the letter delivered by the emissaries read aloud and swoons three times when he realizes that it comes from R.; when he regains consciousness he insists on Han. describing the characteristics by which R.-Viṣṇu may be identified. Han. mentions the arrow which can perform great wonders and Sambūrāna then declares that R. cannot be Viṣṇu, for the latter has three heads and four arms, one of which holds the staff, another the *bunga wijāya* and another supports itself on the earth[3]. Reasoning thus, the king refuses to appear before R. and do homage to him and banishes his emissaries; they betake themselves to the palace where they spent the previous night and are guarded by Sambūrāna's troops. Han. advises them to abduct the king and he manages to reach the palace unmolested with Sugrīva, as the guards have been lulled to sleep by the providence of Dewāta mulyā rāya; there he causes the generals who have been commanded to keep watch by the king's counsellors, to fall asleep, and slipping past Sambūrāna's innumerable somnolent wives, he steals away with the king slumbering on his throne, couch and all, and goes to the mountain of Gandārāwānam where R. is residing. Han. leaves the prisoner outside the dwelling and goes inside to R., who asks him why he has not set out on the journey and is naturally astounded to hear that the assignment has already been completed. At R.'s command Han. brings in the slumbering king on his throne and L. manages to wake him first, by splashing him with water in which Gandī wātī has been dipped. When Sambūrāna sees himself confronted by R. he swoons; brought back to consciousness by the arrow-water, he acknowledges all the outward manifestations of Viṣṇu in R. and abjectly craves his pardon, saying that Han.'s description had not been adequate to convince him of R.'s deity. The following morning Sambūrāna's wife discovers her husband's disappearance when she goes to look for the king in the women's quarters, and amidst the tumult of the court she informs her courageous son Nīlābuta, who is skilled in sorcery, that his father has been seized by R.'s warriors. In the guise of a golden fly, Nīlābuta hastens to the mountain of Gandārawānam and discovers his father engaged in conversation with R. He creeps into Sambūrāna's ear and whispers that he will take his father back and slay the person who abducted him, but he once again takes the form of an ape at his father's command and submits to R., who requests his help in the campaign against Laṇḳa. Father and son then return to their city[4] where the queen tells her husband how an astrologer has foretold their safe return. The army is assembled and is 12 laut strong; with four of these Nīlābuta proceeds to R. and is hospitably received, traversing the mountains en route, while receiving the hospitality from the ascetics living there. Sugrivā's army assembles in his city and joining Nīlābuta on the way, is taken to R. He accepts the homage of the ape-princes[5] and has an astrological assessment of Sī.'s present fate undertaken by Jāmbavat. Prompted by her love for R. she abandons thoughts of suicide, is now in good health and safe from Rāv. who cannot come closer than twenty yards to her. R. challenges any one of the ape-warriors to volunteer to jump to Laṇḳa so that Jāmbavat's suppositions may be confirmed, but not one of them accepts. (Sh.: The episode concerning Sambūrāna is missing. R. summons Sugrīva, reminds him of his obligations and declares his intention of sending someone to Sī. to ascertain whether she is still alive. According to Sugrīva there is only one warrior capable of accomplishing the three month journey in a single jump; he therefore gathers together his kinsmen and his army[6] to see who is capable of this feat. When Sugrīva has been consecrated as king, R. sends L. round the assembled company with the betel-leaf roll, to see who will dare the jump but not one of them has the confidence to undertake it.) R. then asks for Han. who was recommended by Vālin, but Sugrīva replies only that he did not dare bring the little ape to him, as he was sitting in one corner of the audience chamber and was covered in mucus and filth from his nose and eyes. Notwithstanding, he summons him at R.'s command. Han. is willing to make the required jump if he is first permitted to eat from the same leaf as R. (Sh. adds: R. recognizes Han. as his son by the ear-rings and L. confirms this. Sugrīva tells how his sister Añjana[7] gave birth to Han; R. is convinced that Han. is his own son but commands that no person shall speak of it as he is ashamed of having an ape as a son.) R. is prepared to grant Han.'s wish if he will first bathe himself in the midst of the sea. Han. carries this out at once and straightway presents himself to R., his fur still damp, bearing precious stones and pleasant smelling perfumes from the Sūlū Sea in his hands (the latter not mentioned in Sh.) in order to manifest his obedience to R.'s command. When R. has taken a pisang leaf and made a rib down the centre by scoring it with his first finger, he heaps rice on the leaf; R. and L. eat from one side and Han. from the other. From this time pisang leaves have a rib down the centre. (The aetiological motif is missing in Sh.) Han. then receives a ring from R. that Sī. may identify him.

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[1] Vide p. 38.

[2] He is completely white, his tail is studded with jewels, and stars shower from his mouth when he speaks.

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[3] Different in St., note 186 p. 264.

[4] Katagīna purwā (only mentioned at this point).

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[5] Particularly noteworthy are: Patih Jambuwāna, Nīla (always Anīla in Sh.) Anggāda, Nūla Nīla (not present in Sh.'s list but see p. 67), Indrā (Sh.: Sang Indra jānū), Sang Durmūla (Sh. S. Drimūla (?) or Durmūka, S. Nāla, S. Kĕmĕndah (Sh.: Katamanda (?)), S. Panāsa (Sh.: S. Patāsa); S. Sukasyāri, S. Sarāba, S. Wināta (these three in Sh. only).

[6] Vide note p. 59.

[7] Vide p. 30 and p. 38.

22

HANUMAT IN LAṄKĀ

Ro. p. 130-136, Sh. p. 110-117.

HOLDING the symbol of his identity in his mouth Han. goes in search of a suitable spot from which to jump. Because the ground, a tall tree and a cliff all crumble under the strain, Han. returns to R., reduces his size to an ell's length and jumps from his father's arm; on his flight through the air he loses his sperm which is swallowed up by the king of the fish (not mentioned in Sh.). Han's jump takes him to a maharṣi's house (Sh.: twelve days journey beyond Laṅkā), where he is fed on rice from a bowl which is never empty, on account of the magic influence of its owner, and is finally given a guide to Laṅkā. Arriving at Rāv.'s palace he assumes the guise of a brahmin and sits down under the shade of a tree near a well, which is thereupon visited by forty women with golden pitchers who, when they are questioned, tell Han. that they are going to fetch water for Sī.'s bath; Han. bewitches one of the vessels with a *mantra* so that it cannot be lifted when the women wish to return home; while helping the remaining water-carrier, Han. casts R.'s ring into the vessel. Sī. discovers it while taking her bath, recognizes it as R.'s property and having been informed of the brahmin at the well, commands him to be called. Han. appears, instructs Sī. concerning his mission on R.'s behalf and styling himself as R.'s adopted son, tells her his name and lineage and adds that he regards Sī. as his mother. Overjoyed at the news of R., Sī. says that she would give Han. to drink of the milk of her breasts had she not forsworn all contact with men other than her husband. Drops of milk then surge out of her breasts and convinced that Han. is her son, she catches them on a pisang leaf and gives him to drink. (Sh. does not include the consummation of Sī.'s wish.) She then serves Han. with two fine mangoes and when he asks whence they come, she replies that they are to be found in Rāv.'s mango grove watched over day and night by a hundred rākṣasas, and tells him the way there. Han. immediately goes in search of the plantation and as a tiny ape he manages to win the affection of the guards by clearing away the fallen leaves and twigs. One day the rākṣasas become inebriated by a drink given to them by Rāv. and fall asleep; Han. eats all the fruit from the trees and absconds. The following morning when the guardians of the grove awake and see the devastation, they ask Han. who has done this thing; because he will give no answer they bring him bound to Rāv. accusing him of the deed. Amazed that such a small ape should have destroyed his grove, Rāv. asks him whether the report of his guards is in accordance with the facts, and enraged at the prisoner's persistent silence, he finally commands that he shall be put to death, but there is no weapon which can harm him. Han. wondrously extends the length of his tail, coils it and perches himself on top, thus sitting higher than Rāv. on his throne (missing in Sh.[1]). Vi. warns his brother of the prophecy promising misfortune to the city of Laṅkā should the little ape be put to death, but Rāv. is adamant and inquires of Han. how he might be killed, whereupon the latter breaks his silence and tells him to swathe him in cloths immersed in oil and to set these alight. He does so, but as Han. is growing larger all the while the palace linen proves insufficient to cover him. (Sh.: Han. only stops growing when Rāv. asks Sī. for linen). The lighted cloth burns down to a small piece at the end of his tail without harming Han.; jumping around in the palace and then in the city, the ape reduces the whole of Laṅkā to ashes with the exception of Sī.'s dwelling and finally extinguishes the cloth by bathing in the Sea of Ḳulzum (the name is missing in Sh.). A maharṣi summoned from the Kĕindrāan by Rāv. causes the city to rise again by praying to Dewāta mulyā rāya (missing in Sh.). Han. visits Sī. and offers to carry her to R., but his offer is refused by the princess as no man may touch her save R., and he must liberate her himself to his glory. Asked by Han. for a suitable jumping place, Sī. names the black rock having the imprint of Nabī Adam's foot and situated on the Mountain of Thunder[2] (Sh.: Gūnung Sĕrĕndib). Following Sī.'s advice he venerates the rock, jumps back to R. at Lagūr Katagīna, reports to him and hands him a casket of precious stones filled with sweet perfumes which has been given to him by Sī. (not mentioned in Sh.). R. is greatly pleased at the news of his wife but censures Han. for burning down Laṅkā.

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[1] But c.f. p. 74.

[2] būkit kĕtāgaran.

23

CONSTRUCTING THE CAUSEWAY.

Ro. p. 136-144, Sh. p. 117-155.

ASKED for advice on the manner in which the gigantic army should be moved to Laṅkā, Han. counsels R. to build a causeway; when Sugrīva has assembled his army and brought it to R. (!) (Sh.: a second list of the ape-princes!), R. dispatches two of Nīla (Sh. always Anīla) Anggāda's generals with an army to find a range of foothills near Laṅkā. They come to a mighty mountain rising from a broad plain; in a cave at the summit they find a maharṣi, spinning thread on a spindle, who tells them the name of the mountain and the plain and recounts the following: He was created by Indra from a tree trunk to guard the pleasure-gardens and the pool of the dewīs and bidadārīs situated at this spot, and has practised asceticism for 700 years. He sent his four servants which he likewise created from tree trunks, with the tribute of mangoes due to the rākṣasa king Jāya sīnga who intended to take the Kĕindrāan by storm and enslave all the dewīs and bidadārīs. Informed of the generals' mission, he places them on his hand (Sh.: since he knows nothing of Laṅkā, never having descended from his wooded mountain slopes) and raises it (Sh.: after an unsuccessful attempt) so high into the air that they can see Laṅkā. Hearing that the purpose of the attack is the liberation of Sī. from Rāv., the maharṣi implores his visitors to ask R. to subdue Jāya sīnga and his son Sūra nāla, who oppress the gods as much as Rāv. The two generals return to R. and report to him. R. goes to the maharṣi's mountain with his army (Sh.: after telling L. and Han. that he thinks Sī.'s liberation should be delayed no longer, but refusing as dishonourable Han.'s offer to accompany him and steal away with Sī. together.) He is received honourably by the maharṣi and recognized as a descendant of Viṣṇu (Sh.: R. says that his mother is one of Viṣṇu's daughters). After commanding the apes to fell the trees on the mountain and pile them on the sea shore ready to build the causeway, R. promises to do battle with the rākṣasa kings when he has heard the holy man's complaints about them, and is taken with L. to the bathing pools of the dewīs and bidadārīs, there to be provided with celestial fruits. R. tries to force Jāya sīnga and his son into submission by negotiation, but when his emissaries are brusquely dismissed, he sends Nīla (Sh.: Anīla) Anggāda with a great army against them, relinquishing his original intention of going to battle himself in the company of L. and Han.; Jāya sīnga is informed of the enemy's approach (a detachment is sent in advance with orders to wait for the remainder of the army a day's march from the enemy city), calls four confederate kings[2] to his aid (Sh.; on the advice of his son) and the very next morning after they have arrived and been refreshed, he begins the battle, which continues inconclusively until evening. When the battle is resumed the following day Nīla Anggāda[3] take Sūra nāla and two other rulers prisoner, whereupon Jāya sīnga flees to the city and the remaining two kings lay down their arms. (Sh.: in much greater detail: After a two day battle between the deputy commanders of both armies Anīlā[3] takes Jāya sīnga and Sūra nāla prisoner and Anggāda[3] captures two of their allies. The two remaining sovereigns flee to the city, but when it is besieged they surrender and are instructed to deliver up their families, their households and the treasures of their companions.) The ape-generals bring in the conquered to R. (Sh.: with the body, q.v. above) and in reward they receive the three kingdoms of the enemy lords taken prisoner in battle, whom R. has put to death (only in Ro). (Sh.: Also the daughters of Jāya sīnga and another king.[4]) In the meantime Han. works tirelessly on the causeway to

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1. C.f. p. 66 note 3.
2. Mahārāja Bĕrma kuwāsa (or kosa; this exclusively in Sh.), M. Jā lokā (Sh.: M. Jāna loka, son of the former), M. Madū sīlan (Sh. p. 131 vocalized written Māda sudāna), M. Bĕrma bĕrānī (Sh.: Iranña (?)).
3. So it is two people, which is not evident from the context in Ro; considering the dual similarity in the connection of the two names this may also not have been clear to the Malay story tellers in all instances (vide e.g. p. 79 and 95). C.f. the two similar cases, notes 5 and 6 p. 67.
4. Of Māda sadāna.

Laṅkā, hurling many mountains into the sea. (Sh.: When the rākṣasa kings have been subjugated, the building of the causeway begins.) With his underlings Han. brings up the mountains, and the eight most outstanding warrior-apes[5] which are left throw them into the depths of the sea. In their enthusiasm for the task Nūla Nīla take[6] the mountains handed on by Han. in their left hand as they are not free to use their right. Angered at the misbehaviour of these warriors whose prowess is inferior to his, Han. flicks seven mountains into the air with his tail to show his strength, and they darken the sun. Informed of the reason for the sudden darkness by Anīla Anggāda, R. exhorts Han. to exercise patience, catches the falling mountains and throws them into the sea; he then recommends Nūla Nīla to be more polite and reconciles the estranged parties by making all three[7] partake of food from one leaf. During construction work near Laṅkā (not specified in Sh.) they are unable to subdue a certain area of sea from which water is spurting high into the air in spite of all their efforts to control it; enraged at this R. prepares to shoot his arrow Gandī wātī (Sh.: Ganda rāta) into the sea. At that moment a wondrously beautiful woman emerges from the waters; she is sent from R.'s forefather Viṣṇu and tells him that the deep chasm in the ocean descends as far as the Patāla būmī and that it contains the water of life (*ayĕr Mā'ulhayyāt*) which will make his warriors invulnerable if they drink from it. She then disappears and R. commands his men to drink from it. (Sh.: R. hurls the mountains handed to him by Han. high into the gushing waters to enable all his men to drink. He repeats this because not all have received their share, but the water stops and only gushes forth once more when R. has offered up a prayer to Dewāta mulyā rāya, thus all can be satisfied. Subsequently R. presents his eight (?)[8] chief warriors and 33 other warriors with robes. The work is then resumed[9]. After her arrival in Lankā, Sī. is accommodated in a garden in which are set seven palaces built by the inhabitants of the Underworld and is entrusted to the care of a retinue of rākṣasa princesses and ladies-in-waiting with Vi.'s daughter Dewī Srī jātī at their head (Sh.; with a guard); but Sī. cannot be consoled and wishes to commit suicide when Rāv. appears before her. Accordingly, he keeps his distance until one day he is overcome by desire. Since Sī. rejects his proposals on the grounds that she can be possessed by no other man during R.'s life-time and will only believe in his death if she sees his head in Rāv.'s hands, he kills Kāla sakti and Purwa sĕkāli (?) adorns their heads with diadems and goes to Sī.'s dwelling. (Sh. in greater detail: Rāv.'s two victims, the sons of Kĕindrāan deities are detained by Indrajit for some misdemeanour they have committed; their last moments are given an exact description.) At Sī.'s injunction Dewī Srī jātī asks Rāv. what he wants and he asserts that he has brought the heads of R. and L. whom he has slain in a terrible battle[10], but taking the supposed trophies, Vi.'s daughter bids him return the following day when he has cleansed himself thoroughly. When Sī. catches sight of the heads she wants to stab herself. Dewī Srī jātī restrains her as the truth of Rāv.'s assertions is yet to be proved and offers to go in quest of R. to make quite certain; Sī. (Sh.; who at first does not trust her guardian) agrees to this. (Sh.: After she has been exhorted by Sī. to go in all haste, and has discovered no trace of a struggle on the battle-field) the raksaṣi goes to R. from whom she receives a belt, once woven by Sī., as a token of his well being and is taken back to Laṅkā by Han. (Sh.: Dewī Srī jātī bids Han. accompany her on the homeward journey. He refuses to approach a woman with whom he is not acquainted but obeys R.'s command when the latter declares that she is his sister; also Han. only agrees to carry his weary companion because she stresses the necessity of her speedy return. He will not, however, grant Dewī Srī jāti's request to accompany her to Sī. as he would thereby exceed the limit of his duty.) On the following day when Rāv. demands access, Dewī Srī jāti accuses him of deceit, saying that she has seen him alive with her own eyes (Sh.: that he is preparing to make war on him with the ape-king Sugrīva and his army and that she has been brought back by Han. on his instructions). (Sh. also adds the following: Asked by Rāv. who sent her to R., she maintains that she simply carried out Sī.'s bidding, whom he has commanded her to obey in all things.) When the enraged king wishes to kill her, she takes refuge with Sī. who is prepared to accept all the blame in the face of the angered king. So Rāv. has her imprisoned in a castle of iron from Chorasan and guarded by one of his counsellors with an army. (Sh.: Rāv. instructs the counsellor to put an iron fence around Sī.'s dwelling.) Rāv. dispatches Sukasārana (Sh.: Saga dasāna[11]) as a spy to R.'s army. To this end he assumes the guise of an ape and angers Rāv. to such an extent on his return by a detailed account of the splendour of R. and his warriors, that he soon realizes a speedy withdrawal is called for. (Sh.: The scout arouses the suspicion of the other apes by his unusual appearance, is identified by Han. as a rākṣasa because he can neither climb nor call like an ape, and is taken bound before R. who frees him, seeing that he is quite overwhelmed at his majesty. He furnishes Rāv. with a complete description of R.'s eight(?)[12] chief generals who, like the other 33[12] warriors, have tails studded with precious stones and metals; he also speaks of R.'s and L.'s awe-inspiring presence, comparing them with Nabī Adam and Indra. He is then forced to flee from Rāv.. who brandishes his sword at him). (Sh.: Rāv. assembles his army and summons his son Gangga mahā sūrā[13] from the sea). Ganggā mahā sūrā[13] is entrusted by Rāv. with the destruction of the causeway now almost completed by the apes, and instructs the fish to undertake the task for him. (Sh.: Asked by R. how they might best overcome this danger, Han. requests him to assemble the army, as he wishes to provide them with food.) To hold up their destructive work Han. whips up the water with his tail and causes the fish, which are paralysed by the rising mud as if by the poison of the tūbā-root, to float to the surface; here they are seized by the apes and eaten. (Sh.: The catch piled into gigantic heaps before R. is so great that even his numberless hosts are unable to consume it all. At Han.'s command, the fish thereafter refrain from causing any further damage to the structure.) On another occasion a mighty crab attacks the causeway. Han. allows it to sink its claws into his tail and tosses it landward, where it reduces a forest of great expanse to a plain by its fall. The apes also use it as food but cannot consume the gigantic animal completely. When the causeway has been completed by Nīla Anggāda, R. makes preparations to march on Laṅkā, but Jāmbavat informs him from the results of an astrological enquiry that Rāv. has constructed a new palace and has erected 17 sunshades on it(?)[14] as a votive offering to Bĕtārī Brahmā; before he marches across, R. must destroy these by striking their glittering pinnacles with Gandī wātī. Jāmbavat overrules his objection that Bĕtārī Brahmā would be angered by this, and reminds him that his forefather Viṣṇu is of greater account than Bĕtāri Brahmā[15]. (Sh. recounts the following in place of this episode: R. holds a council of war before marching on Laṅkā. At this meeting Sugrīva expresses his concern at the strength of the enemy, to which R. replies that he no longer requires his aid now the causeway is completed; he declares that he is ready to take on the rākṣasas single-handed with just one arrow, not even availing himself of the support offered by Han. who is indignant at Sugrīva's cowardice). The following day (Sh.: after consultations) R. leads his army across the causeway; assuming the form of an enormous lion with 1000 heads and 2000 paws, adorned with splendid accoutrements and weapons, Han. acts as his mount. (The latter is missing in Sh.) Rāv. observes the approach of his adversary from the roof of his new palace, makes Vi. point out R.'s generals and is overwhelmed by their splendour and majesty (missing in Sh.). On his arrival in Laṅkā, R. instructs the apes to build a palace for him at a

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[5] *orang dualāpan ītū* 'those eight people' whose names are mentioned. These only total eight, however, if the last name (Karangkatūla (?)) represents two people, as above.

[6] For the plural c.f. note 7.

[7] kĕtīgāña.

[8] Here they are eleven in number.

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[9] The end of the episode in Sh. *w'allāhu a 'lamu' lḳissah īnī...* "and Allah knows best (whether) this story... (is true)".

[10] During which the dead were piled high as mountains and the blood had become as a sea, in which slaughtered steeds and elephants had made islands and chariots floated (like ships ?). (Sh. adds: He slew R. first in his chariot and then L. who ran in to attack him.)

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[11] Sh. p. 148 Saga sādana.

[12] Ten great warriors are named, probably included in the 33 warriors here.

[13] Written thus.

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[14] The description is not very clear.

[15] Nothing further is said about this.

suitable spot (not included in Sh.). (Sh.: As soon as the news that R. has set foot on his land reaches him, Rāv. summons his three sons from their kingdoms and calls in his brother Vi. who is skilled in reading the stars.) During consultations with his leading men about the impending battle, he is advised by Vi. to return Sī. and save his reputation; for this Vi. is expelled with ignominy from the palace by the enraged king. (Sh. more detailed: Vi.[16] advises Rāv. to deliver up Sī., win over R. and induce him to become his general for, Vi. maintains, he would never have occasion to regret it if he did so; he then warns the angry king not to invoke his own downfall by his stubbornness. Rāv. has him ejected from the council by force and orders him to leave the palace). Vi. is so deeply shamed by this insult that accompanied by his wife and sons, he betakes himself after nightfall to R.'s camp, where he is honourably received (Sh. describes the reception in detail).

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[16] He is introduced here with the remark: *Maka ada sa' orang mantrī tūha yang bĕrnama Bībū sānam* "and there was present an old counsellor named B".

24

THE BATTLE FOR LAṄKĀ

I: TO THE DEATH OF KUMBHAKARṆA

Ro. p. 144-146, Sh. p. 155-165.

SH.: On a day following Vi.'s defection to R., Rāv. assembles his army and calls all his generals[1] together, with the exception of Kumbhakarṇa. Indrajit is in favour of returning Sī. to ensure Rāv.'s continued good reputation (Sh.: and to win R. as a faithful vassal). Rāv. makes no reply to this (Sh.: he recommends that Indrajit should become R.'s vassal after his death). On the morning following Vi.'s flight (Sh.: after the conversation with Indrajit), Rāv. despatches 10 generals[2] with an army of men to reconnoitre the enemy; Han. and the other generals take them prisoner before R.'s and L.'s eyes, and their army is crushed to death by Han.'s tail. (Sh.: When they do not return, Rāv. sends out four more generals to ascertain their fate and after hearing their report and consulting with his generals, he commands them to awaken Kumbhakarṇa.) Rāv. orders the sleeping Kumbhakarṇa to be wakened. After fruitless efforts made by Rāv.'s emissaries and four court ladies, who, though they creep into his nostrils and pluck his hairs, are sneezed out by the slumbering Kumbhakarṇa, success is at last achieved when they pluck the hairs from his feet. When Kumbhakarṇa comes to Rāv., he also advises him to return Sī. to R. who, as his deeds[3] testify, is no ordinary man; angered by this Rāv. marches with him, his generals and his troops against R.'s hosts. (Sh. describes the manner in which the two armies are drawn up. When Rāv. enquires the identity of the warrior at the head of the enemy forces, comparing his stature to a lontar palm, Jāma Mantrī replies that it is R., the son of Viṣṇu's daughter Mandūdarī, the olive-skinned lord of land and sea.) The battle drags on inconclusively for two days, both sides suffering considerable losses. (Sh.: During the battle Anīla Anggāda rush at Kumbhakarṇa, grasping him by the arms and striking his face, but he tosses them away. He returns to Rāv; the two apes go to R. and report on the strength of the adversary. On the second day six ape-generals, whose names are mentioned, defeat two groups of ten rākṣasa generals[4], being aided in the last resort by Han. On his way to Rāv. to request reinforcements, Kumbhakarṇa is attacked by Han. who tries to snatch his club; the former then flees to Rāv.) On the third morning of the battle Rāv. gives his brother instructions to kill R. Kumbhakarṇa goes out against R. with ten generals (Sh. names them), challenges him to do battle and is taken on single-handed by R. who is provoked by his insulting remarks. When Kumbhakarṇa rushes at him with a club, R. severs his head from his body with an arrow and it falls with a thud to the ground; another arrow cuts through the rākṣasa generals who rush at him, brandishing the club of the fallen warrior. R. considerably increases their losses by hurling Kumbhakarṇa's head and his club into the midst of the enemy. Rāv. returns sorrowfully to the city and the strife ceases for 40 days.

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[1] Their names are given.

[2] Sh. lists them by name.

[3] Amongst which the punishment of Gāgak sūra (vide p. 23) is mentioned.

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[4] Whose names are mentioned.

25

THE BATTLE FOR LANKĀ.

II: TO THE DEATH OF INDRAJIT.

Ro. p. 146-159, Sh. p. 165-218.

AFTER this respite Han. is sent to Rāv. to make an offer of peace and a treaty of friendship in return for Sī.'s release. (Sh.: Rāv. receives R.'s emissary on a lofty throne in the midst of the assembled courtiers. Han. perches himself on his tremendously elongated tail which he has coiled up, and so sits in an equally elevated position on a level with Rāv.) As so much blood has been shed, Rāv. considers a peaceful settlement to be impossible, unless L., the instigator of all these misfortunes, is delivered to him in bonds. Han. vindicates L.; enraged by this Rāv. breaks off negotiations abruptly, and without taking his leave, Han. returns to R. to report the abortive result. (Sh. adds: Han. says he would have seized Rāv.'s three sons with his tail and taken them to R. had he not been given strict instructions to keep to his mission. Rāv. consults his counsellors for advice on whom he may send against R.; the chief counsellor, Jāma Mantrī, leaves the decision to his own discretion, whereupon Patāla Maharāyan reminds his father of a son named Badāyas or Badabīsh.) Rāv. then summons his son, Bilā bīsa, from his rocky dwelling place beneath the earth and receives him cordially. Vi., who gains knowledge of this, warns R. against this monster capable of turning everything it beholds to ashes; Han. slays Rāv.'s two counsellors who have been instructed to remove the two golden scales from the eyes of Bīlā bīsa and smashes the supports of Rāv.'s two sunshades with their heads. Rāv. is enraged that his plans have been foiled. Jāmbavat takes a rākṣasa warrior prisoner (Sh.: the son of Jāma Mantrī sent against Jāmbavat by his father, as Rāv. would not give him permission to accept the challenge personally) and once his men have hacked a way through the encroaching enemy, he takes him to R., who imprisons him. Han. (Sh.: who declares hand to hand combat with the superior number of rākṣasas to be an unreasonable proposition, is sent into the battle by R.), seizes several hundred rākṣasas and takes them to R. (Sh.: they submit to him.) The rākṣasa army takes refuge in flight and night falls. The following day Rāv.'s counsellors advise him to return Sī. at which he flies into a rage. (Sh.: Rāv. asks who is willing to risk battle with R.; only Patāla Maharāyan responds, and is praised for this by his father. Indrajit assures Rāv. of his loyalty. Weeping, Jāma Mantrī exhorts the king to be mindful of his obligations; furious at this Rāv. himself is prepared to go to battle in his flying chariot against R., but abandons the idea when his three sons offer their services. Patāla Maharāyan goes into battle with the warriors from the Underworld and inspite of heavy losses on both sides the struggle drags on until evening without reaching any decisive conclusion. On his return P.M. declares that he would probably have defeated R. if the latter had taken a stand against him. Rāv. plans to abduct R., as neither fire nor water, nor any other weapon can harm him. P.M. undertakes the task. Disguised as Han. he passes the dozing sentries, abducts R., who is still asleep on his couch, and carries him through the air to one of his palace buildings[1]. (Sh.: P.M. first despatches two of his generals to steal away with R., but they discover that Han. has encompassed R.'s palace with his body and are challenged by him. He inquires their intentions, censures the rākṣasa for resorting to such methods and declares that R. cannot be harmed by weapons, water, fire or poison and that it would therefore be of no avail to abduct him. When P.M.'s envoys have discovered that R. is to spend the night on a *gĕta nāga*[2], they return to their lord and furnish him with a report. P.M. then prepares to abduct R. personally. Han. is told of the enemy intentions by his warrior-apes and informs Sugrīva. The latter calls together his kindred and assembles his army; watchful as they may be, Han. warns everyone not to be deceived by Rāv.'s son, who is skilled in the magic arts and may appear in the guise of a person well known to them, even Sugrīva; he then encircles the palace with his body and causes his bristling hair to stand high in the air and penetrate to the depths of the Underworld. Bent on his mission of abduction P.M. succeeds in crawling through Han.'s fur as a tiny insect, reaches R.'s palace and disguised as Sugrīva, Jāmbavat and Vi. in succession, tries to gain access, but is recognized on each occasion by the sentries and disappears. In the grey light of dawn, when the apes have been lulled into a false sense of security, P.M. contrives to enter the palace by causing one of the guards to succumb to sleep and steals away with R. on his couch. To cover his tracks from Han. he mounts into the air and then disappears through the hole of a lotus flower into the Underworld, where he installs R. in the temple[3].) In the morning when Han. goes to pay his respects to R., he finds the sentries (Sh.: sentry) asleep and, when roused, they declare that they allowed him to pass during the night. Greatly troubled Han. goes in haste to R.'s bedchamber, where he finds only L. and Vi. still sleeping. L. weeps copius tears at R.'s disappearance; amidst the general confusion Han. leaves the palace, vowing that he will not return until he has found R., and ascends to the heights and descends to the depths of the earth without finding a trace of him. In the Underworld he sees a princess drawing water. (Sh.: Han. finds P.M.'s tracks on the lotus flower and passes through in great haste to the Underworld, where in a voice of thunder, he challenges the abductor to battle. One of P.M.'s vassals, living on the mountain of Nanda parwadam, sends one of his servants to see who has roared so fearsomely. Han. returns him to his master with a knot in his neck. Infuriated by this, he goes out to meet Han. and challenges him to battle, when he hears what has brought him hither. At the outset Han. extends his left hand to his adversary, and when the latter rushes at him savagely in answer to the insult, Han. lifts him bodily into the air; as he is carried off, his shrieks cause Han. Tugangga to close the gate of his fortress (vide infra). When released he plummets earthwards, lands on his feet and marches against Han. with his hastily assembled army. Observing his approach from the rear, Han. seizes his opponent's club, and breaking it into pieces flings them into the midst of the enemy, killing them in their thousands; he casts their commander away on a mountain. Continuing his journey, Han. arrives at a pool which is set in gold and diamonds. Changing himself into a small ape, he looks around and spies a golden fortress; within its walls there are seven palaces of divers precious stones and at the gate of the fortress a pair of scales studded with jewels. A princess, beautiful to behold, comes weeping to the pool to draw water). When questioned, the princess tells Han. the water is intended for the purification of her son who, because the stars have foretold that he will succeed P.M., is now to suffer death at his hand together with R. (Sh.: Her brother, Amīr arab or A. rāba, went to Rāv. after Kumbhakarṇa's death and imprisoned her son in an iron cage to be burned with R. because, according to astrological prediction, he should accede to the throne. Han. tells her his mission and assumes gigantic form when she expresses doubts about his ability to slay the abductor and liberate R.; when she asks why an ape should have a human master, he relates the story of his encounter with R. and the abduction of Sī. The princess tells him her name and recounts the following: Amīr arab is Rāv.'s maternal uncle; early in the morning P.M. arrived with R. and kept him in the temple; her son's prison is between the two domains of Amīr arab and P.M., they being in the latter at present). When Han. promises to ensure her son's installation as king, the princess declares that she is willing to take him, concealed in her water-pitcher, into P.M.'s iron fortress, but warns him against the castle guardian, Han. Tuganggah, who weighs everything leaving and entering the fortress on his scales. (Sh.: she warns him about the scales at the gate). Concealed in the pitcher as a lizard (Sh.: a bird), he is discovered by Han. Tuganggah (Sh.: when the beam of the balance breaks and the pitcher shatters on the ground. Reverting at once to his natural form, he does battle with him. To Han.'s great amazement his opponent is a match for him; when asked, he says that he is Han.'s son, the fruit of the sperm which Han. lost on his jump to Laṅkā[4], swallowed by Jandānā, king of the fish. (Sh.: by the daughter of the fish-king, whose name is not mentioned). Born hard by a cliff on the shore, he was brought up by Gangga mahā sūra and later handed over to P.M., who instructed him to guard the fortress. Recognizing Han. Tuganggah as his son, Han. refuses his offer to fetch R. as both treacherous and unworthy of his ancestry, but manages himself to steal out of the fortress with R. while he is asleep on his couch; he wrings the necks of the guards who attack him and defends himself against P.M., who marches against him with his generals on receiving news of R.'s liberation, by hurling his assailants, one after the other into the air. (Sh. is more detailed: Keeping a firm grasp on R.'s couch with his right hand, Han. hurls P.M. into the air three times with his left and catches Maharīsī Bālī in the crook of his tail, when he rushes to P.M.'s aid. P.M. then summons his *gūrū* to help him. Before him and two warriors, who run forward to render assistance, Han. jumps around, destroying the fortress and all the palaces; also he successfully defends himself against Amīr arab, who appears on the scene when he hears the noise of battle. Attacked by him in the form of a gigantic lion, Han. assumes the appearance of a rākṣasa; when the other appears as a nāga, he confronts him as a garuḍa; when he assumes the guise of a tiger, however, Han. crushes him to dust with his left hand. P.M. and his vassals flee, and mindful of his promise, Han. makes the son of the princess at the pool king in place of Amīr arab.) After Han. has once more exhorted his son to remain faithful to his master during his lifetime (Sh.: and has crushed to dust with his two hands the rākṣasas bearing in upon him) he returns to the palace with R. to the great joy of R.'s followers. When Vi. washes the sleep-inducing magic ointment from R.'s countenance, he awakes and the day draws to a close amidst great jubilation. (Sh.: R. wakes up of his own accord; when he realizes what has befallen during his sleep, he declares that the time has now come to slay Rāv. and to make Vi. king of Laṅkā. Han. fetches Amīr arab's head from the Underworld and with scathing words he flings it into the midst of the rākṣasa ranks as they come out at the break of day in preparation for battle. Rāv. is downcast, when Amīr arab's head is brought to him; shamed by his failure, P.M. challenges R., who takes him on single-handed.) The following morning R. goes to do battle with P.M. alone (Sh.: wards off his weapons), severs P.M.'s head from his body with an arrow and slays innumerable rākṣasas with the arrows left in the chariot of the fallen lord. Han. Tuganggah and the remaining princes of the Underworld appear before R. and submit to him. R. is filled with wonder at Han.'s son, who has a human head, the body of an ape with white fur (the latter detail not mentioned in Sh.) and a tail studded with jewels; to Han.'s great joy, R. strokes his son's head and presents him with the chain around his neck; the other princes also receive gifts according to their standing. (Sh.: Rāv.'s sons Indrajit, Tūrī Kāya, Tūrī sirah and Nāra nantāka come forward in response to their father's renewed appeal in the council for volunteers to face R., once he has declared that he is ready to do battle himself; on account of their youth the last named sons are only permitted to go into the field under the protection of Indrajit; as they leave the audience chamber, their youngest brother Dewī nantāka, who is accompanied by his stewards[5], joins them without Rāv.'s knowledge. In his capacity as guardian, Indrajit is not disposed to let them share the honours of battle and instructs them to wait until he has finished his devotions, but they, divining his true purpose, go into battle without delay on their chariots and, accompanied by their armies, inflict heavy losses on the apes. When asked, Vi. tells R. the identity of these new warriors and advises that Anīla Anggāda should be sent against them, inspite of Tamnat Gangga's plea to do battle with these assailants, who are his equals in age. In addition to many other rākṣasas, Anīla Anggāda slay Dewī nantāka's two stewards, after which they are subjected to heavy pressure, to be freed finally by Tamnat Gangga. When Dewī nantāka climbs down from his chariot and rushes at him, club in hand, Tamnat Gangga tears it from his grasp and breaks it; the two grapple with each other. The remaining rākṣasa princes send a hail of arrows against Tamnat Gangga in order to be of assistance to their brother; Han. slays Trikāya[6] by hurling a mountain at him and his son puts Dewā nantāka[6] (!) to death. At the request of Anīla Anggāda, who beg him not to detract from their battle honours, Han. withdraws and the two remaining princes suffer death at their hands; the rākṣasa army is put to

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[1] *rūmahña bĕrhāla sudamanī namāña* 'his (P.M.s) house called B.S.' But c.f. note 3 and p. 162.

[2] Couch (*gĕta*) in the shape of a serpent?

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[3] R.'s prison is here called *rūmah bĕrhāla bunda* (?) *minnī* (the last two syllables vocalized thus) *namāña bĕrhāla ītu* 'Temple of the idol called B.'.

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[4] Vide p. 60.

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[5] *pĕngasuh* 'attendant' probably with the meaning given above.

flight. When Rāv. hears of his sons' death he begins to reproach himself and bewail Indrajit's untrustworthy nature; R. retreats from the field of battle with his army and Rāv. withdraws to his palace, sorrowing greatly. Indrajit endeavours to console him, declares his intention of avenging the slain and requests Rāv.'s leave to assemble his counsellors in the Kĕindrāan[6]. When the armies face each other the following day, no rākṣasa can be found to accept R.'s challenge, as they have already suffered severe losses in previous encounters, until Gangga Mahā sūrā, who rejects Rāv.'s assertion that he is too young for battle, marches against R. with his subjects from the ocean depths. Two of his generals do battle against Anīla Anggāda until evening but neither side gains a clear advantage. The following day, while Gangga Mahā surā's hosts rain arrows upon him without any effect, R. shoots off the latter's head; his two generals defect to R. with their troops and are placed under L.'s command. R. then flings Gangga Mahā sūrā's head at the enemy; sorrowing deeply at his son's death, Rāv. has him conveyed to his kingdom beneath the ocean. Summoned by Rāv. and asked whom he might now send against R., Indrajit declares that, after the death of his seven brothers, the time is at hand for him to do battle with R., and he leaves for the Kĕindrāan to assemble his army. Han.'s attention is drawn to Indrajit's numberless hosts swarming in the skies, by the noise they make, and he warns R. of this new adversary, advising him to entrust Garuda Mahābīrū with the protection of his army against Indrajit's onslaught. G.M. is summoned at R.'s command and, while he is still briefing him, boulders begin to pour from the heavens, killing many apes. G.M. prevents further losses by extending his wings first over one army, then another, in accordance with R.'s instructions, and Han. is able to afford protection from the torrential inundating rain which sets in at the same time, by encircling R.'s camp with his body. As the weight of the rocks becomes unbearable, G.M. begs R. to release him; supporting him from underneath R. raises him and shakes them off. He repeats this every day during the magic storm which lasts forty days. When the sun breaks through after the storm and G.M. comes down from the sky to bow before R.

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[6] The spelling used here.

seated upon his golden throne, Indrajit, undetected by R. shoots at G.M. with an arrow but cannot wound him seriously at long range. Grasping his bow, R. seeks to locate his opponent in the air but falls into a swoon when he sees him. L. and Vi. catch him; the latter cures him with roots brought by Anīla Anggāda and with the leaves and bark of a tree, obtained from Būkit Nabī Adam; after this R. once more installs himself on his throne. During the night which has already drawn in, Indrajit creeps into the camp and lulls R.'s whole army to sleep by means of an arrow obtained from Bĕtāra Indra, which he shoots into the camp. Even R. and his generals are so overcome by weariness that they abandon their plans to entertain the assembled army of apes and retire to their beds, with the exception of Vi., who is able to remain awake by virtue of a powerful magic potion. Indrajit gains access to the camp and slays innumerable apes outside R.'s palace, but is recognized and put to flight by Vi., who at first assumed him to be Han., as he did not respond to his challenge. Vi. wakes R. and L., reports the incident and proceeds to rouse R.'s 33 generals also; they appear before R. and beg forgiveness for their negligence. Entrusted with the task of assessing their losses, Anggāda reports that all the apes have been slain, save those who slept in trees. Sugrīva endeavours to console the despondent R., saying that all is not lost as long as he remains alive; after such heavy losses his warriors will have to perform even greater feats. R. sends Han. to Malāyakīrī to fetch a root called Wisalya wīni; unable to find it, Han. brings the whole mountain to R. R. admonishes him, shows him the roots from the mountain and instructs him to return it forthwith, lest all the slain rākṣasas return to life. Han. obeys his command. Meanwhile the dead and wounded apes are revived and healed by a drug extracted from the roots.) Rāv. asks his counsellors whom he should send against R.; when no one volunteers, one of his ministers asserts that Indrajit should stand alone against R., as Kumbhakarṇa and Rāv.'s seven sons have perished, and further recommends that Sī. should be returned; at this Rāv. is greatly angered. Indrajit expresses his agreement with the minister and gives due warning to his father, who is mindful to put Sī. to death, that such a deed would be dishonourable. At Rāv.'s command, Indrajit creates a woman who resembles Sī, kills her and ensures that the news is circulated throughout Laṅkā and finally reaches R., who may then be induced to break off the seige of Laṅkā in despair; after this he leaves with his whole army to venerate a magic power which would enable him to call the fallen rākṣasas back to life. Engaged on a reconnaissance probe to Laṅkā, Han. hears the citizens bewailing Sī.'s death, is greatly dismayed and brings the news to R., who swoons on receiving it. L. and the leaders of the apes stand around him, sorrowing deeply; Vi., however, arrives on the scene, revives him and warns him not to lend credence to the news of his wife's death, until it has been confirmed. L. expresses his eagerness for battle and revenge, should the news prove to be correct. Appearing before R. as one who has just wakened from sleep, Sugrīva tells of a dream: In a palace in which there was a lighted lamp, he had kicked Rāv. to the ground when approached by him; afterwards R. and Sī. had toured round Laṅkā in a chariot (Sh.: after encircling Laṅkā seven times on Rāv.'s chariot, they had returned to Mandūra pūrī nĕgara in it). On Vi.'s advice, Han. is despatched to Laṅkā to ascertain Sī.'s fate, flies as a bird (Sh.: as a bee) to Sī.'s palace and sees her sitting there, sorrowing. On his return he sees many bikūs and maharṣis moving in procession to a sacred shrine, learns of Indrajit's coming sacrifice from their conversation and reports this to R., when he brings him news of Sī. (Sh. adds: inquires the reason for the sacrifice; Vi. informs him[7] and declares that it will be accomplished in half an hour). R. sends L. (Sh.: first giving him an arrow and an inexhaustable quiver) with Han. and the generals of the ape-army at the head of a mighty host to Indrajit's place of sacrifice (called Nikumbilī in Sh.), where the force on guard at Indrajit's ceremony immediately suffers considerable losses on account of the arrows despatched by L. and the blows delivered by Han. (Sh. is more detailed: The ape-generals prevent the rākṣasas' escape by a pincer movement and beat off their attack with tree trunks and boulders. L. and Han. then proceed to turn the battle into a blood-bath.) The battle is fought on the sea-shore and the blood spilled there flows like a broad river down to the sea[8], bearing with it chariots and the corpses of rākṣasas and animals. Preoccupied with his devotions, Indrajit does not notice the happenings around him; when his generals inform him that his army has been defeated and only his intervention can prevent L. from storming Lanka, he commands that he shall not be disturbed, as he can only call back the slain to life when the sacrifice has been accomplished. When the warrior-apes have put the officiating priests to flight and have completely destroyed the sacrifice by hurling slabs of rock at the place, Indrajit faces them ready for battle. After a short time he is defeated and returns to the Kĕindrāan. (Sh.: Indrajit's three heads appear; his battle cry strikes fear into the hearts of the dewas and mambangs in the air, and the terror-stricken apes flee to L. After L. has killed an enemy general and Han. has destroyed his chariot, Indrajit, who is magnificently adorned, armed with bow and arrow and riding upon his chariot, leads forth the host of dewas and mambangs, whose densely serried ranks darken the sun, and advances against L., who is being carried by Han. and his apes. The clangour of ensuing battle reaches R.; on Vi.'s advice he hastes to help his brother, realizing from the battle cry that he is locked in combat with mambangs and not rākṣasas; but Vi. considers L.'s magic powers to be proof against Indrajit and R.'s direct intervention to be unnecessary, so R. proceeds to wreak devastation in the enemy ranks with his arrows. L. and Indrajit attack each other with magic weapons; Han. wields a tree trunk against his opponent and kills 1000 horses by returning the arrow with which Indrajit has wounded him. Indrajit then shoots a magic arrow into R.'s army, commanding it to slay every weapon-bearing creature. The dewas who are not subject to Indrajit, seek R.'s protection from the arrow, which belches smoke and fire as it roars through the air with a shattering sound like the trump of the day of resurrection. Imploring Dewāta mulyā rāya to have mercy on L., he removes his brother's weapons in accordance with Vi.'s advice and commands the whole army which has sought refuge with him to lay down their arms. The arrow encircles R.'s hosts three times and seeing no one bearing any weapon, it changes into a floral wreath around R.'s neck. Indrajit accuses Vi. of serving R., a human master, and of betraying the secrets of rākṣasa magic; Vi. justifies his action and with his sword he wards off an arrow shot at him by his angry nephew. Leaving his army engaged in combat with R., Indrajit hastens to Rāv. on a flying horse, makes an unsuccessful attempt at persuading him to return Sī. and only with difficulty prevents him from joining the battle himself. Equipped with Rāv.'s weapons and riding in Rāv.'s chariot, Indrajit entrusts the command of his army to one of his counsellors and leaves for the Kĕindrāan. There he says a tender farewell to his wife Komāla dewī, as there will be no return from the forthcoming battle. After they have taken a bath together, the couple partake of their last meal with each other; Komāla dewī falls into a swoon and will not stir inspite of Indrajit's devoted efforts to revive her. She hears neither his final farewell nor his exhortation to care for his daughter, who has not yet come of age and whom he affectionately caresses, when he has summoned her to be brought before him by her lady-in-waiting. On receiving the news of heavy dewa and mambang losses at R.'s hand and of the death of his deputy, who has been slain by L., he cries out in wrath, his three heads emerging as he does so, and hurries back to the field of battle in his chariot, which is drawn by 1000 green steeds. When he hears his shout, Rāv. is most perturbed and makes his way there likewise. L. and Han. press Indrajit hard, pursue him when he takes refuge in a cloud, kill his charioteer and horses and bring his chariot plummeting to the ground. (Sh.: The apes scatter at the sight of Indrajit. R. has them rounded up by his generals and led into battle by L., who is perched on Han.'s arm and has the majority of the ape-generals acting as his body-guard; acting on Vi.'s advice, R. retains Anīla Anggāda as a protective measure in the event of any rākṣasa trickery. After hurling abuse at each other, L.[9] and Indrajit do battle with the aid of magic weapons. Indrajit misses L. but inflicts heavy losses on the apes; when his charioteer is slain, he retreats into a cloud and from this vantage point his men rain arrows on R.'s army. R. is quick to go to his brother's aid with Vi., and kills off innumerable rākṣasas, while

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[7] Vide p. 81.

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[8] Occasionally this motif appears in other battle descriptions by Sh.

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[9] Carried by Han.

L.'s warrior-apes ravage the enemy in like manner; raised on Han.'s forearm into the cloud, L. once more attacks Indrajit, who is forced by L.'s mighty blows to steer his chariot earthwards. Another battle with magic weapons ensues and Indrajit once more takes refuge in a cloud; under orders from R. to finish the battle L. pursues him. Indrajit falls to the ground as in Ro.). Indrajit proceeds to attack R., who first shoots off three of his arms with Gandī wātī and other magic arrows and then severs his head from his body, when Indrajit tries to lay waste the ape-army with his weapon Trīsūla (Sh.: Trīsūlam). The elements react violently as his body falls to the ground, and the dewas shower fragrant flowers upon him. R. praises L. (Sh.: and his warriors) for the feat which he has accomplished; when the heads of all the slain have been brought to him by Anīla Anggāda, R. goes to hurl them at Rāv., who has no knowledge of his son's death and is nowhere to be found. R. therefore calls upon him with a mighty shout to deliver Sī. and make peace, as all his sons have perished. (Sh.: Rāv. replies that he will do battle with R. personally when forty days have elapsed. Hurling Indrajit's head at Jāma Mantrī and causing him considerable pain, R. accuses him of failing to counsel his king more wisely and in a manner befitting for a man of his age and experience. Jāma Mantrī reports this to Rāv.) With loud lament and self-recrimination at the news of his son's death, Rāv. hastens to the headless corpse, takes it on his lap and mourns his son so movingly that R. and all his hosts weep in sympathy, but for a few, who are prompted to laugh at the sight of Rāv.'s ten mouths wailing in chorus; finally Rāv. returns to his palace. (Sh. only mentions Rāv.'s lamentation.) Komāla dewī is startled out of her swoon by the wrathful shout of her husband returning to battle but she faints once again, when she receives news of Indrajit's death. Her mother revives her but is unable to dissuade her from her plan to cremate the corpse of her fallen husband. Decked out in all her splendour and accompanied by all the bidyādarīs, Komāla dewī descends to the battle-field but swoons once more at the sight of Indrajit's mutilated body. When she regains consciousness she wails bitterly and blames Rāv. for her misfortune. Hearing her accusation, Rāv. prepares to mount his chariot and ride to the battle-field where he will put her to death, but he is restrained by Jāma Mantrī. (Komāla dewī accuses Sī. of being the cause of her misfortune and Rāv. wishes to put Sī. to death; Jāma Mantrī prevents him.) Rāv. bears his son on his heads into the palace; he is accompanied to the funeral pyre by his army and Komāla dewī, who is arrayed in her wedding finery and attended by her retinue. There, on the funeral pyre of sweet-smelling woods, the princess follows her husband into death with her attendants; the ashes of the couple are preserved in a golden urn. Taking good care to avoid any accusation of jealousy Mandū dākī exhorts Rāv. to return Sī. Rāv. commands her to be brought; she sits forty fathoms away from him and is asked her opinion of Mandū dākī's suggestion; as she advises the king to accept it in his own interests, she is immediately sent back to her living quarters. There is a forty day lull in the battle.

26

THE BATTLE FOR LAṄKĀ

III: TO THE FALL OF RĀVAṄA.

Ro. p. 159-165, Sh. p. 218-243.

AT the end of this period Rāv. calls together an assembly and inquires who is willing to slay R. and L. No one answers. Rāv. therefore instructs Jāma Mantrī to fetch the Mahārāja Bandanāla from the mountain, where he is living the life of an ascetic; after some hesitation the ascetic (henceforth called Pĕrdāna warna[1]) agrees to Rāv.'s wishes and follows his emissary to Laṅkā, where he is sumptuously entertained for seven days and nights. Vi. warns R. of his new rival, whose magic powers he has read in the stars, but R. just smiles and declares that he is ready to do battle with him. On the first day of the ensuing battle, Han. and Pĕrdāna warna use slabs of rock and magic arrows in their contest, but there is no decisive conclusion by the evening; for two more days the fighting continues, without producing any result. Pĕrdāna warna challenges R. to give a genuine demonstration of the power of his magic weapons; R. then shoots off his head with Gandī wātī and calls upon Rāv. to send more warriors or come out and meet him himself. Rāv. requests a respite of seven days to bury the fallen warrior and R. returns to his camp (Sh. does not include this episode). After the ceremonial cremation of Pĕrdāna warna, Rāv., acting on Jāma Mantrī's advice, fetches his adoptive son Mūla patānī from the Underworld beneath the seven patālas and brings him to Laṅkā that he may stand against R.; he has 500 heads and 2000 arms and is able to drink the sea dry and pulverize mountains. (Sh.: After mourning Indrajit for forty days, Rāv. leaves with his army for the seven kingdoms ruled by the dewas[2] under the patāla būmī. Here there lives a dewa by the name of Mūla matānī,

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1. The description is not very clear.
2. They are named.

whom he adopted as a child and whose appearance and strength are described as in Ro. When he reached manhood he took the gods Indra, Barūna and Rāja Bāya(-u?) prisoner but set them free at Indrajit's request. As a result of objections raised by Adī Běrma, concerning these acts of violence, Rāv. appointed him keeper of the seven kingdoms of the Underworld. Boasting his great strength, M.m. declares his willingness to do battle with Rāv.'s adversary; Māli wan warns him not to underestimate R. and recounts his deeds. Rāv. is prevented by his adoptive son from putting this prophet of doom to death and proceeds to Laṅkā in the company of M.m. and the seven rulers of the kingdoms of the Underworld.) Accorded a magnificent reception and richly adorned by Rāv., M.p. goes into battle and hurls all his weapons at R. R. wards them off and maims the heads and arms of his adversary with his arrows. (Sh. is more detailed: Beholding the gigantic[3] stature of M.m., R.'s hosts are terror-stricken and flee. R. has been informed of the enemy's identity, has the army rounded up by Anīla Anggāda, who only succeed in doing so with great effort, encourages the complaining soldiers and sends them against the dewa army, placing them under the command of L. who is being carried by Han. R. engages in combat with M.m., maims the heads and limbs of the latter when repeatedly attacked by him and finally puts him to flight. The enemy forces have suffered heavy losses at the hand of L. and his apes and are prevented from coming to the aid of one of their generals, when he is taken captive. Indicating to M.m. that his fears have materialized, Māli wan rushes into the fray, attacks R. with his sword, when Han. cuts down his horses and kills his charioteer, but is beheaded by his opponent. To avenge his brother's death, Sumāli āwan attacks R. with magic arrows. R. severs one of his arms and has the maimed warrior finished off by Han. Tugangga after his chariot has been destroyed and his charioteer killed by Anggāda. Han.'s son brings the corpse to R., who strokes his head, when he self-confidently describes the magnitude of his deed. Meanwhile the apes are rounded up by Anggāda and sent once more against the dewas who have arrayed themselves around M.m. to afford him protection; Han. slays one of the kings of the Underworld and, using his corpse as a club, he kills off a great number of the enemy; at the same time R. and L. inflict severe losses on them with their arrows. The dewas flee and M.m. attacks R. once more. He is maimed again and prepares to use the bow, which he has acquired by asceticism). R. is warned by a celestial voice to permit (?) his adversary no more than one shot and (Sh.: when the string of his bow snaps (?)) proceeds to shoot off all but one of his heads. The wounded man asks R. to put him out of his misery but falls to the ground and expires when R. refuses to grant his request. Han. destroys the chariot of the fallen warrior, whose routed army brings Rāv. the news of the death of his adoptive son and the terrible losses suffered by the forces of the Underworld. Boarding his chariot, decked with standards and sunshades and drawn by 1000 lions and 1000 steeds, Rāv. thunders into battle and pierces L.'s heart with an arrow, when the latter comes forth to meet him. (Sh. is more detailed: Incensed by the sight of M.m.'s corpse lying on the field of battle, Rāv. issues a challenge to R., proceeds to turn the battle into a blood-bath but is attacked by L., who is perched on Han.'s arm. After an exchange of scathing abuse,[4] Rāv. takes an arrow which he has acquired from Dewa Bĕrma and shoots it at L., but the latter shatters it with an arrow given to him by Vi. Seething with anger at the incident which has no precedent in any of his wars[5], Rāv. judges Vi. to be the instigator and attacks him with another arrow acquired this time from Bĕrma Rāja. Protecting Vi. with his own body, L. is pierced to the heart by the arrow, which cuts through the ranks of ape-princes gathered around him.) Han. catches L.; R. brings his wounded brother to the palace, takes him on his lap and begins to lament. The arrow is already firmly implanted in L.'s heart and Vi. informs R. it can only be prevented from striking roots and sprouting leaves by obtaining the requisite medicinal herbs with all haste. Straightway Han. hurries to

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[3] He is so tall that he can pick fish out of the sea and fry them on the sun.

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[4] Rāv. enquires whether L. is suffering from bad feet, seeing that Han. is carrying him; Han. answers that he does this because L., as a descendant of Nabī Adam, should sit higher than him, a rākṣasa.

[5] In the sky, in the seven patāla būmī and the eight *madhhab*. The meaning of the latter (*madhhab* Arab. 'sect') is not ascertainable.

Mount Anjānī in order to procure the herb. (Sh.: Han. wishes to fight with Rāv. but R. commands him to fetch the herbs required to heal L., before the arrow can take root and spread its leaves in his heart. Han. sets out; R. makes a fruitless attempt to withdraw the arrow and warned against this course of action by Vi., he decides to intercede with Dewāta mulyā rāya for L.'s life, as the arrow is even now taking root. Returning from the battle field Rāv. instructs a rākṣasa, who is well versed in the magic arts, to disguise himself as a maharṣi and somehow prevent Han. from fetching the herbs in time; the rākṣasa then sits down at a pool to await Han.'s coming. When Han. reaches the spot he asks the would-be maharṣi for water, is directed to the pool and is swallowed by a mighty crocodile, as he bends down to drink. He frees himself by tearing apart the monster's body; in its stead there appears a beautiful woman, who tells him that she was changed from a bidyādarī into a crocodile by Bĕtāra Indra for laying waste a dewa place of worship. After revealing to Han. that the maharṣi has been sent by Rāv., she bathes in the pool and in an instant there rises a seven storey palace at the spot; in accordance with Han.'s wishes she declares that she is willing to remain there before returning to the Kĕindrāan, and will render any services within her power to help him accomplish his mission. Making his way back to the maharṣi, Han. invites him to come and sit at his side, seizes his legs (dangling from the platform), flings him to the ground and dashes him to pieces, when he once more assumes the form of a rākṣasa. Then he goes to Mount Anjānī. Unable to find the roots, Han. dislodges the mountain and returns with it to R., who is waiting for him, full of grief. (Sh.: Vi. states that L. must be healed before the break of day; R. and his army give way to dispair, as the dawn is already nigh and Han. has not yet appeared. Then Vi. sees him approaching). After the indispensable roots have been gathered by R. (Sh.: Anīla Anggāda), Han. flings the mountain into the sea (Sh.: because the rākṣasas might come back to life if he leaves it on the field of battle, and the day will break before he can return it. For this reason there are no longer any roots which can quicken the dead). At R.'s command Han. goes to Laṅkā to seek the stone buried beneath the couch of Rāv. and his wife, for, according to Vi., the roots may only be ground upon this stone. He manages to reach Rāv.'s palace (Sh.: Mandūdarī's palace after he has scaled the seven walls of Laṅkā and Rāv.'s palace), creeps into the lock as a green fly and opens the gate. (Sh.: He spies Rāv. and his wife asleep in the presence of all the women servants, and, assuming the form of an ant, crawls through the tiny nostril of the golden serpent, which Rāv. has coiled round his bed for protection.) He knots the hair of Rāv. with that of his wife and steals away with the stone (Sh.: after opening from the inside the lock which fastens the serpent and leaving a note upon its neck, advising Rav. that the knot binding their hair will only be loosened when his wife rains blows upon his head). Vi. applies the roots, which have been ground on the stone, the arrow can then be extracted with ease and L. comes back to life. (Sh.: R. tries in vain to extract the arrow after the powder has been administered, but healing takes place when the medicine is bound in a white cloth and then applied. Anīla Anggāda shake the powder over the fallen apes and bring them back to life.) The following morning Rāv. discovers that his hair is entwined with his wife's (Sh.: and noticing the disappearance of the stone, he guesses that Han. has done this thing to him at Vi.'s instigation. When he reads Han.'s message he is dismayed, for no woman has ever touched a hair of his head.) Han. calls out to Rāv., telling him what he has done and informing him of L.'s cure; Rāv. permits Mandū dākī to beat upon his head. The knot is loosened but, by allowing a woman to inflict a blow on his head, Rāv. has henceforth laid himself open to defeat. He goes into battle (Sh.: magnificently attired and wearing armour presented to him by Bĕrma rāja), kills many apes but avoids engaging R. in combat; at the same time R.'s generals run amok through the enemy ranks and inflict heavy losses on them. (Sh.: To afford his army the greatest possible protection, R. leaves the bulk of his men to be guarded by L. and Sugrīva, and goes into battle with the warrior-apes under Han.'s command and the two generals of Gangga mahā sūra[7], who have defected. He and Rāv. are both agreed that they should

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[6] The walls of which are made of many different metals.

[7] Vide p. 80.

first destroy the supporting hosts of the opposing side without attacking each other. The battle is depicted in greater detail than in Ro.) When night falls the two armies withdraw. The following day Rāv. prepares a sacrifice in order to suffocate R. in the smoke. Han. tries in vain to disturb the king's devotions by hurling boulders at the place of sacrifice; only when Han., acting on the advice of one of Rāv.'s courtiers, carries Mandū dākī past on his back and shouts abuse at his adversary, does Rāv. rush at him with drawn sword. Han. lays waste the place of sacrifice, frees the queen and returns to R., while the infuriated Rāv. repairs to his palace. (This episode is missing in Sh.) The following day R. and Rāv. engage in battle. R. wards off Rāv.'s arrows and proceeds to sever eight of his opponent's heads with Gandī wātī but they grow again in an instant by virtue of the daemon's magic power. (Sh.: R. parries two of Rāv.'s javelins and two of his arrows; Han. seizes the latter and derisively enquires how his opponent could have achieved such great things in the world with such puny powers. R. issues a challenge to Rāv., who boasts that he is master of a 1000 arts of war. When Rāv. defends himself with his magic bow, R. maims a large number of his heads and limbs, which, however, grow again spontaneously in the twinkling of an eye. By nightfall the contest of arms remains undecided and is brought to a close by the mutual agreement of the sovereigns. (Sh.: R. cannot be harmed by Rāv.'s arrows and begins the battle once again. Robbed of several limbs, which he has just regrown, Rāv. calls on the dewas to rain down boulders on R.'s army, which is devastating the rākṣasa ranks, but his request is in vain and he proceeds to attack R. from the sky with his arrows. R. wounds him several times without effect and advises him to end the battle by returning Sī. This is taken by Rāv. to be an admission of weakness. When night falls the opponents retire. R. dispatches Han. to Sī. to report on the course of battle thus far and to ask her how Rāv. may be killed. Sī. informs Han., who has appeared before her as a tiny ape, that Rāv. will lose his might and magic power if the little head, inhabited by his soul and situated under his right ear, is struck off; but as long as sun and moon remain in the firmament of heaven, he cannot suffer death. Another means of sapping Rāv.'s strength is to steal his sword, which his wife venerates every time he goes into battle. When Han. asks how this is to be achieved, Sī. counsels him to proclaim his death to Mandūdarī, by bringing her nine of Rāv.'s heads, which have been cut off by R., and to steal the sword, the moment she hides her face in grief.)

The following day R.'s arrows strike off nine of Rāv.'s heads, while he is hurling missiles at R. with his many hundred(!) hands; Han. takes them to Mandū dākī as proof of her husband's death and steals Rāv.'s magic sword, which is in her keeping; then, overcome by grief, she buries her head in her cloak. Rāv. thereby loses all his power. When R. cuts off the little head under his right ear, Rāv. collapses. R. approaches him and accuses him of withholding Sī., thereby omitting to place him under an obligation and win him as a vassal; as Rāv. declares that he must bear the consequences of his action, R. tries to kill him with the magic sword, but in vain. He then makes his entry into Laṅkā.

27

RĀMA IN LAṄKĀ.

Ro. p. 165-169, Sh. p. 243-257.

R betakes himself to the garden, where Sī. is sojourning; overcome with joy she wishes to embrace his feet, but he prevents her, fearing that she has been a prey to Rāv. She defends herself against these suspicions[1] and, at R.'s wish, subjects herself to trial by fire; Han. erects a pyre before her palace. The pile of wood burns down without harming Sī. who bows to her husband from the midst of the flames; persuaded of her purity, R. takes her joyfully into his arms. When Sī. has taken a bath, the royal couple sit upon a golden throne and receive Rāv.'s wife, who waits on them, aided by her husband's lesser wives; meanwhile the sound of music echoes through the festively decorated city. R. bestows a throne of equal height on Jāma Mantrī but makes no other changes at court. Rāv.'s vassals do obeisance to R. and remain there, refusing to return to their homes because of the affection they bear for him. (Sh.: During the course of an audience Jāma Mantrī assures the sovereign of his own loyalty and that of the whole court and R. permits him to be seated at his side; thus the son of Bĕrma rāja is honoured. Having been presented with a throne which is equal in height to R.'s, Jāma Mantrī requests R. to leave all the courtiers in their present positions; they join in the request[2]. All the kings of the world come before R. to do homage to him. He calls upon the ape-generals to return to their homeland and bestows rich treasures on them, when they refuse to leave him; he also treats in like manner the two generals of Gangga mahā sūrā who also do not wish to abandon him.) When they receive the news

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1. She declares that Rāv. could never come closer than forty fathoms (vide p. 62 and p. 86) and that she has sworn to be touched by no man but her husband.

2. At the same time referring to the killing of Rāv. as one of R.'s glorious deeds.

of R.'s victory Bhar. and Śatr. come to Laṅkā with their families and Kīkĕwī dewī (the latter not mentioned in Sh.), are given an honourable welcome by R. and are sumptuously entertained by him on the sea-shore. R. presents his brothers with giant pearls culled by divers from the ocean depths and with jewels obtained from Būkit Sĕrĕndīb when he journeyed there with them; (in Sh. he presents them with other precious things); as they wish to see Rāv. while he remains alive, R. entrusts the court to Han. Vi., goes to the place at the foot of the mountain, where Rāv. is lying in a pool of blood, and conducts a short conversation with him. After this, the nuptuals of Kīkĕwī dewī and Vi. are celebrated amidst the feasting and rejoicing of the inhabitants. Maharīsī Kalī also comes to Laṅkā with his wife Minūram dewī and relates the circumstances of Sī's discovery to R. (Sh.: who has always considered her as Maharīsī Kalī's own daughter). Mandū dākī (Sh.: who has been appointed keeper of the royal household by Sī.) realizes from this account that Sī. is her own daughter; it is finally confirmed when Vi. makes his testimony and M.K.'s wife brings in the iron box (Sh.: with the two pearls and Sī.'s garments[3]). Sī. bows before her mother, from whose breasts drops of milk flow into her mouth (not mentioned in Sh.); dressed according to her position as his mother-in-law she is placed above all the ladies of the court by R. Having stayed at R.'s court for the space of a year, his brothers set out for their own kingdoms, being accompanied part of the way by R. and then by Vi. and Nīla Anggāda. On his return to Laṅkā, Vi. describes the topographical advantages of a mountain which he and his companions have discovered and (Sh.: thoroughly reconnoitred). R. has the city of Duryā purī nĕgāra built (the extent and splendour of which Sh. describes in detail); it is constructed under L.'s supervision by skilled craftsmen (Sh.: by rākṣasas and apes under Vi. and Sugrīva). Once he has appointed Jāmah Mantrī king of Laṅkā, R. moves with certain selected inhabitants to his new seat of government; having peopled it with men of wealth, science and artistic skill from the whole world, he proceeds to govern it equitably. (Sh.: Because of the just nature of his government there are no poor or aged people

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[3] Vide p. 16.

27

RĀMA IN LAṄKĀ.

Ro. p. 165-169, Sh. p. 243-257.

R betakes himself to the garden, where Sī. is sojourning; overcome with joy she wishes to embrace his feet, but he prevents her, fearing that she has been a prey to Rāv. She defends herself against these suspicions[1] and, at R.'s wish, subjects herself to trial by fire; Han. erects a pyre before her palace. The pile of wood burns down without harming Sī. who bows to her husband from the midst of the flames; persuaded of her purity, R. takes her joyfully into his arms. When Sī. has taken a bath, the royal couple sit upon a golden throne and receive Rāv.'s wife, who waits on them, aided by her husband's lesser wives; meanwhile the sound of music echoes through the festively decorated city. R. bestows a throne of equal height on Jāma Mantrī but makes no other changes at court. Rāv.'s vassals do obeisance to R. and remain there, refusing to return to their homes because of the affection they bear for him. (Sh.: During the course of an audience Jāma Mantrī assures the sovereign of his own loyalty and that of the whole court and R. permits him to be seated at his side; thus the son of Bĕrma rāja is honoured. Having been presented with a throne which is equal in height to R.'s, Jāma Mantrī requests R. to leave all the courtiers in their present positions; they join in the request[2]. All the kings of the world come before R. to do homage to him. He calls upon the ape-generals to return to their homeland and bestows rich treasures on them, when they refuse to leave him; he also treats in like manner the two generals of Gangga mahā sūrā who also do not wish to abandon him.) When they receive the news of R.'s victory Bhar. and Śatr. come to Laṅkā with their families and Kīkĕwī dewī (the latter not mentioned in Sh.), are given an honourable welcome by R. and are sumptuously entertained by him on the sea-shore. R. presents his brothers with giant pearls culled by divers from the ocean depths and with jewels obtained from Būkit Sĕrĕndīb when he journeyed there with them; (in Sh. he presents them with other precious things); as they wish to see Rāv. while he remains alive, R. entrusts the court to Han. Vi., goes to the place at the foot of the mountain, where Rāv. is lying in a pool of blood, and conducts a short conversation with him. After this, the nuptuals of Kīkĕwī dewī and Vi. are celebrated amidst the feasting and rejoicing of the inhabitants. Maharīsī Kalī also comes to Laṅkā with his wife Minūram dewī and relates the circumstances of Sī's discovery to R. (Sh.: who has always considered her as Maharīsī Kalī's own daughter). Mandū dākī (Sh.: who has been appointed keeper of the royal household by Sī.) realizes from this account that Sī. is her own daughter; it is finally confirmed when Vi. makes his testimony and M.K.'s wife brings in the iron box (Sh.: with the two pearls and Sī.'s garments[3]). Sī. bows before her mother, from whose breasts drops of milk flow into her mouth (not mentioned in Sh.); dressed according to her position as his mother-in-law she is placed above all the ladies of the court by R. Having stayed at R.'s court for the space of a year, his brothers set out for their own kingdoms, being accompanied part of the way by R. and then by Vi. and Nīla Anggāda. On his return to Laṅkā, Vi. describes the topographical advantages of a mountain which he and his companions have discovered and (Sh.: thoroughly reconnoitred). R. has the city of Duryā purī nĕgāra built (the extent and splendour of which Sh. describes in detail); it is constructed under L.'s supervision by skilled craftsmen (Sh.: by rākṣasas and apes under Vi. and Sugrīva). Once he has appointed Jāmah Mantrī king of Laṅkā, R. moves with certain selected inhabitants to his new seat of government; having peopled it with men of wealth, science and artistic skill from the whole world, he proceeds to govern it equitably. (Sh.: Because of the just nature of his government there are no poor or aged people there. The magnificence of his palace is described in detail). R. makes Han. commander-in-chief, L. heir to the throne[4], Vi. regent and Gangga mahā sūra's two generals chief ministers[5]. (Sh. adds: All courtiers belonging to the families of ministers or generals are assigned posts in accordance with their lineage. During his audiences R. sits on a lofty throne[6], Han., behind whom is assembled a mighty band of warriors, sits at his right hand on a lower throne[7] and Vi., ruler of all the rākṣasas is installed on another like unto it, to the right of Han. Also present are Gangga mahā sūra's generals who hold sway over all the inhabitants of the ocean depths).

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[1] She declares that Rāv. could never come closer than forty fathoms (vide p. 62 and p. 86) and that she has sworn to be touched by no man but her husband.

[2] At the same time referring to the killing of Rāv. as one of R.'s glorious deeds.

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[3] Vide p. 16.

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[4] *rāja mūda* (a borrowing translated from Skt. *yuvāraja;* Mal *mūda* "young").

[5] *pĕrdāna mantrī.*

[6] *singghāsāna.*

[7] *gèta* really "couch, divan". All three places are decorated with jewels.

28

RĀMA'S LAST ADVENTURES.

Ro. p. 169-173, Sh. p. 257-285.

R is without issue and sends an emissary to Maharīsī to request some means of ensuring that he will have children to succeed him; Sī. and R. are both given bezoar stones. After five months Sī. realizes to her great joy that she is to be a mother. In her sixth month she reluctantly[1] allows herself to be persuaded by Kīkĕwi dewī to draw a picture of Rāv. on a fan, while R. is giving an audience; she presents it to Kīkĕwī dewī and lies down to sleep. The woman is startled when she sees R. approaching and places the fan on Sī.'s breast; when R. discovers the picture and enquires its origin, he is told by his sister that Sī. drew it and caressed it tenderly before falling asleep. R. wakes his slumbering wife, accuses her of unfaithful conduct and orders her to leave the palace forthwith, although she protests that she is innocent. Bowing before him she obeys his command and goes to Maharīsī Kalī with her retinue, having first entreated Dewāta mulyā rāya to strike the slanderous woman dumb and make all living creatures mourn. M.K. advises her to remain with him, until such time as R. fetches her. (Sh.: He counsels her to reject any entreaty on R.'s part for her to return home.) Sī. (Sh.: who, in her seventh month, has taken a ceremonial bath in the sea after fourteen days of celebration) gives birth to a son, Lava[2] by name, who becomes M.K.'s favourite and constant companion. Once when the king is bathing in a spring before his icons, the boy runs unnoticed to his mother and cannot be traced after the ritual has ended. Believing him to be drowned and not wishing to return without him, M.K. creates another boy in Lava's image from a bundle of grass which he venerates. He goes in search of his daughter with him and discovers the boy he believed dead. Sī. adopts the son who has been brought to her and names him Kuśa[3]; from that moment the two boys are inseparable. (Sh. adds: One day while he is playing ball, Kuśa hits the ball to the house of a ten-headed rākṣasa who lives two days' journey away. Searching for their toy, the princes find the wife of the rākṣasa watching over her husband's slumbers and without paying the slightest heed to her shouts, they fetch the ball from the ground under the house, where they discover the bones of many people who have been eaten by the rākṣasas. Then they kill the female daemon with their bat when she tries to catch them. On the way home they also slay the rākṣasa, who has pursued them with drawn sword on finding his wife dead. When they reach a more mature age Lava and Kuśa devote themselves from morn to night to the chase, and return home with the animals they have bagged. Once a stag wounded by Lava runs to the house of a mighty rākṣasa. When the latter refuses to allow them to take their prey, they slay him and also his sons who pursue them; they then take the mother prisoner and bring her to M.K., who orders them to put her to death. They continue to devote themselves to the chase and rid their grandfather's kingdom of rākṣasas.) When Sī.'s curse has been fulfilled and no animal in R.'s realm has uttered a sound for twelve years and Kīkĕwī dewī has been stricken dumb, R. is finally persuaded of her innocence and leaves with L. for Durwātī purwā to bring her home again. M.K. accords him an honourable welcome, conducts him into his palace and sets his sons before him. (Sh.: Not far from his destination R. wounds a gazelle, which is finally brought down by Lava, who is hunting in the woods with Kuśa. L. has also ridden in pursuit, and when both claim the animal a fight ensues between him and Lava, during which neither gives any quarter, until Kuśa, creeping up on L. from behind, manages to pin back his arms with a belt. L. is astonished to find that he cannot break free and still greatly puzzled at the identity of his youthful victors, who are even able to overcome him, the vanquisher of rākṣasas and dewas, he is brought before M.K. The king recognizes him, introduces the princes to their uncle, whom he then releases; his two nephews then beg his forgiveness. When L. does not return, R. goes in search of his brother and arrives at M.K.'s palace; he learns from him what has befallen and has his sons brought to him.) R. realizes that they will prove worthy successors to him when Sī.'s adoptive father informs him that they have already slain a great number of rākṣasas, and after intimating the purpose of his visit, he commands M.K. to reunite him in marriage with Sī. A festival of fourteen days duration is accordingly celebrated. (Sh.: When it has come to an end, R. rides round the city with Sī. and gives orders for his army and court to be brought from the capital. On account of the great number of R.'s followers only a fraction of them can be admitted to M.K.'s palace.) Accompanied by M.K., R. then returns to his kingdom with his relations, where all people of wealth and status present him and Sī. with magnificent gifts. After being honoured by R. with the portion due to him, M.K. returns home and R. reigns in contentment and equity (this is described by Sh. in greater detail). Kīkĕwī dewī implores forgiveness on Sī.'s return and straightway has her voice restored, together with all the animals. Lava, wedded to Indrajit's daughter, and Kuśa, to Gangga mahā sūra's daughter, are appointed kings in Duryā pūri nĕgāra and Lankā. (Sh.: The beauty and intelligence of their sons are a source of joy to their parents, and R. instructs them in the fashioning of arms and in all knowledge. He then commands Anīla Anggāda to bring Bhar. and Śatr. before him; when he has presented them with thrones equal to L.'s in height, he informs them that he intends to assign kingdoms to his sons, as they are now capable of ruling; after this he celebrates a feast with them. Because L. rejects R.'s invitation to take Indrajit's daughter in marriage, on the grounds that everything associated with women is *harām*[4] to him, R. rules that the princess shall be Lava's wife. At R.'s command Han. brings seven palaces and a lotus pool from the Underworld; on this occasion R. hears for the first time of the new king[5] appointed there by Han.; this king accompanies Han. to Duryā pūri nĕgāra and arranges the buildings in a garden set with jewels. Indrajit's daughter is brought by L. from the

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[1] For although Rāv. was her father, he was also her husband's enemy and she had only seen him when she was abducted.

[2] Ro.: Tīlāwī, Sh.: Tabalāwī.

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[3] Malay Gūsī.

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[4] Forbidden by (Islamic) religious law.

[5] Vide p. 79.

Kĕindrāan, on the back of the garuḍa which has been summoned by Han.; she makes the garden her dwelling place, until the great celebrations for all the rulers of the dewas, rākṣasas and men have drawn to a close after a period of four months; then she and Lava, showered with flowers by the bidyādarīs and indras, make their wedding procession around the city. Following this occasion Lava becomes king in Duryā pūrī nĕgāra. R. repairs to Laṅkā and has the daughter of Gangga mahā sūrā summoned from the kingdom under the sea by the generals who were once in her father's employ. He shelters her in the place where Sī. spent her captivity. In the presence of all the inhabitants of the ocean depths she is joined in marriage to Kuśa, who is appointed king in Laṅkā, installed with his wife upon a golden throne and accorded the homage of the ocean folk. Jāma Mantrī's son[6], who was taken captive by Jāmbavat, is given Vi.'s daughter to wife and appointed Kuśa's regent. Returning from Duryā pūrī nĕgāra, R. is desirous of transferring the rulership of Birūhashā purwā to Han; the latter, however, requests permission to remain at his side[7]. Indignantly enquiring the reason for Han.'s valour, his power of metamorphosis and R.'s affection for him, Bhar. and Śatr. are told the secret of his birth. L. adds that it would be expedient for R.'s adoptive son to hear nothing of this, as he has become quite self-confident enough already; he then proceeds to relate the following story as an illustration of Han.'s pride: In the throne-room, during the period after the capture of Laṅkā, R. placed his own chain of inestimable worth around Han.'s neck. He chewed it wantonly, retorted to L.'s admonition by asserting that the worth of a faithful and shrewd servant was of greater value by far than the jewels, which he had destroyed; then, in the twinkling of an eye, he produced two more jewels, far more precious than the first, and deposited them in his lap. Overhearing the conversation R. joins his brothers and smiles at their embarrassed efforts to change the subject; he puts an end to Bhar.'s and Śatr.'s ill-will towards Han. by making them and L. eat from the same dish as Han. and Vi., while he partakes of food separately. General celebration concludes the incident. R. unites Han. Tugangga and the king of the Underworld with the daughters of Amīr arab[8] in marriage, assigning them the kingdoms of Patāla Maharāyan and Amīr arab.) R.'s commanders[9] and 33 other generals are likewise given land and receive the wives of fallen rākṣasa nobles in marriage. (Sh.: The apes are also married to rākṣasis. It is R.'s wish that Vi. shall rule in Indra pūri or Birūhashā purwā, as they once belonged to his forefathers, but Vi. declines the offer. His sons are married to the daughters of Bhar. and Śatr. and receive land in fief. Bhar. and Śatr., who have received domains from Vi.[10] and R. on the occasion of their daughters' marriage, tarry at their brother's court and serve him. The daughter of Vi. by Kīkĕwī dewī becomes Lava's second wife but she feels no affection for him and threatens to commit suicide, each time he comes close to her. When L. makes an excursion to Laṅkā with his family, she pines for her father, who has remained behind to guard R.'s court, and refuses to amuse herself with the others by collecting pearls and precious stones. R. commands her to be brought before him by Han. During the course of the journey Han. falls in love with the princess and, disguised as her husband, sleeps with her, arousing no more than a fleeting suspicion in her mind. Lava returns to find his wife robbed of her virginity and discovers the ruse, when she protests that he slept with her. He angrily goes in search of Han. and attacks him with Kuśa's help. The two brothers prove themselves equal to Han. inspite of his transformations but the noise of battle brings R. to the scene. Perceiving his approach Han. immediately abandons the struggle to bow before R., who strokes his head, chides him for the offence, which has been made known to him in the meantime, and divulges the secret of his origin, so that he may exercise more decorum in future. Shamed, he puts himself at the mercy of his half-brothers and they reluctantly renounce their desire for revenge, when R. promises to beg Dewāta mulyā rāya to restore the virginity of the outraged woman, on condition that they pardon Han. The answer to R.'s prayer is immediately apparent, but Lava can only be persuaded with difficulty to retain his wife out of respect for Vi. and, to the old man's great sorrow, lavishes all his affection on his first wife). After some time R. builds a small new city, Ayodyā (Sh.: Andya) pūrī nĕgāra at the dwelling place of the ascetics(?)[11] where he lives with L., Sī. and Han.[12] and pronounces it to be the inheritance of his descendants.[13] (Sh. adds: After Kuśa has returned to Laṅkā and Bhar. and Śatr. are also preparing to depart, R. invests them with Mandūra pūrī nĕgāra and Isfahā boga, exhorting them to govern equitably. The city of Isfahā boga has been abandoned by Daś. and R. commands L. and Bhar. to bring new inhabitants and deck it festively in readiness for Śatr. R. wishes to appoint L. king in Indrā puri but refrains, when his brother begs permission to remain with him to the end, and Han. supports his request on the grounds that R.'s other warriors have all been dispatched to their kingdoms. Devoting himself with Sī. to the ascetic life in Andya pūrī, R. imparts wise counsel to Tabalāwī, who visits him daily, and there also receives the homage of kings from every corner of the earth. He appoints Tabalāwī his successor, arranges for the attendant rulers to conduct him to his kingdom and, after spending forty years with Sī. in the ascetic life, he passes from this transitory[14] world to the world of eternity[15] [16].

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[6] Vide p. 74.

[7] There follows a rather complicated story of a bidyādarī, whom Han., in the guise of a handsome youth, is wont to caress in the woods.

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[8] Spelled Amīraba here.

[9] Ro. names eleven and Sh. ten warriors. The more notable ones receive the following realms: Jāmbavat Kēlbūran gangsa (Kumbhakarṇa's property, v p. 10), (Sh. adds: Sugriva receives his domain), Nīla Anggāda Anta pūri nĕgāra (missing in Sh.), Anīla Indrā pasta, Nīlā butī (Sambūrana's son v. p. 60. Sh. Anggāda) Mĕrduwangsa, Nūla Nīla Astīna) Sh.: Istāna pūrā).

[10] Vi. presents Bhar. with his former kingdom Mandūra (for Mandāra Sh. p. 7) puri nĕgārā.

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[11] *pada tĕmpat orang bĕrtāpa.* This seems to indicate a definite location.

[12] The following is missing in Sh.

[13] End of Ro. (summary): This story of Srī Rāma and Laksamāna, recounted by the *dālangs* (professional story-tellers) who are well versed therein, is known in the land of Kĕling, in Siam, Basrāh (!), Turkey (!) and Europe (!) and even today is in the mouth of the people.

[14] *nĕgĕrī yang fanā.*

[15] *nĕgĕrī yang baḳā.*

[16] End of Sh. (summary): This is the story of Srīrāma, the powerful king, mighty in magic and asceticism, whose descendants shall hold sway over the world until the day of resurrection. This glory was imparted to him, his faithful servant, by Dewāta mulya rāya. "Let no man who reads this story find fault in it, for men are full of error and sin, save Him, who is without sin.

CRITICAL PART

See pp. 5, 6 and 189 for the meaning of the signs and abbreviations used.

1

THE DEEDS OF RĀVAṆA'S YOUTH.

VII 2-34, Sh. p. 1-51.

I. Sh=Vā: **a.** Rāvaṇa has ten heads and twenty arms. **b.** He devotes himself to asceticism. **c.** Becomes the ruler of the world. **d.** His eldest son is Indrajit. **e.** Rāv. does not rule over the kingdom of Kiṣkindha (= Lagūr Katagīna v. 8 II **k.**). (C.f. II **p.**) **f.** Rāv.'s capital is Laṅkā. **g.** Laṅkā is situated on a mountain summit. **h.** Rāv.'s forefather on his father's side is Brahman (= Běrma rāja, v. II **r.**). **i.** Rāv. is a daemon (v. II **t.**) on his mother's side. **k.** His brothers are Kumbhakarna (= Kumbā karna), Vibhīṣaṇa (= Bību sāna, v. II **w.***), Śūrpaṇakhā (= Sūra pandaki, v. II **x.**). **l.** Kumbhakarṇa's addiction to sleep. **m.** Battles between gods and daemons (?) (v. II. **y.**).

II. Sh. || Vā. **a.** The story of Rāv. is closely related to the Rāma saga (is not recounted by Agastya R.). **b.** The story of Rāv.'s half-brother Vaiśravaṇa as far as Rāv.'s installation as ruler of Laṇkā, is missing. **c.** The references to the origin and genealogy of the rākṣasas likewise. **d.** The birth of Rāv. and the reasons for his appearance likewise; his original name Daśagrīva is not mentioned. **e.*** Rāv. is taken away in a ship, comes to Būkit (Mal. mountain) Sĕrĕndīb (Arab. = Ceylon) = Laṅkā (Vā.: he decides to resemble Vaiśravaṇa by practising asceticism and only comes to Laṅkā later). **f.*** As an ascetic Rāv. hangs head downwards over a fire for twelve years (he does not sacrifice one of his heads in the fire every thousand years). **g.** Nabī Adam (not Pitāmaha) rewards him. **h.** On condition that he rules justly Rāv. is made ruler of the four worlds (not amongst other things invincibility by supernatural creatures). **i.** Asceticism and the reward of Rāv.'s brothers are missing. **j.** Rāv. gains possession of his realms without a struggle. **l.** Marries the princesses of the Kĕindrāan, of the Underworld and of the Sea. **m.** Indrajit is called Indrajat or Indra jāti (in Ro.), he has three heads and six arms. **n.*** His brothers are Patāla Maharāyan and Gangga mahā sūri[1]. **o.*** Rāv.'s sons become rulers of the Kĕindrāan, the Underworld and the Sea. **p.** Four kingdoms are not subject to Rāv. **q.** Rāv. (not Viśvakarman, builds Laṅkā (**k.-q.** Vā.: Rāv. gathers the gods of the defeated rākṣasas around him; drives Vaiśravaṇa from Laṅkā; marries Maṇḍodarī (v. 2. II **s.***); arranges his brothers' marriages (v. **w.*.x.**); does battle with Vaiśravaṇa; is given the name Rāv. by Śiva; subjects the world; steals many women (v. 2 II **s.***); is defeated by Arjuna Kārttavīrya and Vālin (v. 18 II **f.** (!) and 7 I-II). **r.** Rāv.'s forbear is king in * Indra pūrī (not creator of the world), his successor. **s.** Rāv.'s father is Citra bahā, later king in Indra pūrī (not the ascetic Viśravas). **t.** Rāv.'s grandfather on his mother's side is Ditī (= Daitya) Kawāca (not the rākṣasa Sumāli). **u.** Rāv.'s brothers are born after his banishment. **v.** Kumbhakarṇa resembles Ditī Kawāca; no reason is given for his addiction to sleep; he is very gluttonous; lives in a mountain cave (not in a dwelling place appointed by Rāv.). **w.*** Vi. is called Bību sāna; * reads the stars; marries Nāran's daughter (not Saramā). **x.** Śu is called Sūra pandākī; she marries Bĕrgasinga (not Vidyujjihva). **y.** Battles between Indra pūrī and Birūhashā purwā; Rāv. settles the dispute. **z.** Rāv. distributes offices to his relations.

Ref. **e.***: Banished, Rāv. comes to Laṅkā by ship: The MSS 78 (Batavia) of the H. S. R. accounts for Rāv.'s banishment by the monstrous crimes he has committed (Gerth van Wijk p. 407). C.f. the end of Mahāvaṃsa VI (in Geiger's translation p. 53 ff.) the story of Vijaya[2] the founder of Ceylon. In all major points this agrees with the account given in Sh. and MSS 78 about Rāv. and has clearly

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1. In Ro. G. m. sūrā̆.
2. The banishment of the evil heir to the throne can be found elsewhere (without the offender being put to sea in a ship); c.f. I 38, II 36 the story of Asamañja and, in Devendra's Uttarādhyayanaṭīkā, the story of Agaḍadatta (Jacobi, Māhārāṣṭrī Erzählungen p. 68 ff.)

been transferred to the latter from Vijaya (Lankā = Ceylon!). This either happened in Ceylon or on the neighbouring coast of the mainland, the Hindu inhabitants of which had settled the northern part of the island and had lively relations, whether friendly or hostile, with the Buddhist inhabitants.

Ref. **f.***: Rāv.'s asceticism. On p. 187 of Ziegenbalg Rāv. lives in Gokarṇa forest for a 10,000 years, between five fires, with his feet suspended in the air.

Ref. **g.** Nabī Adam: Islamic. He is banished to Ceylon from Heaven because he brought bread to humans.

Ref. **h.***: Rāv.'s four kingdoms: C.f. St. p. 89.

Ref. **k.**: Some events which are part of Rāv.'s expedition of conquest are missing and appear accordingly in another context. Has the conquest of the world been suppressed by later Indian, or Indonesian narrators, or is this an older stage of the Rāvaṇa saga which does not include the conquest of the world?

Ref. **l.**: Rāv.'s wives: Nīla utāma[3] = Tilottamā (Apsaras); Pĕrtiwī dewī=Pṛthivī (the earth-goddess VII 97); Gangga mahā dewī = the river-goddess Gaṅgā.

Ref. **o.***: Indrajit as king in the Kĕindrāan: VII 29 captures Meghanāda, named therefore Indrajit ('Vanquisher of Indra), Indra in battle. Apparently the above conception is based on this; c.f. the exactly similar appearance of Rāv.'s son Vīrabāhu, King of the Gandharvas, in Sen p. 254. Indrajit's noble character would then perhaps be plausible (v. e.g. 24 II **a.*** his counsel to return Sī.) as an expression of his weak faith in Viṣṇu (a characteristic of Vīrabāhu[4], Sen p. 102. Patāla Maharāyan (مهراين) = Mahī-Rāvaṇa, king in the Underworld in Sen p. 256 ff. P. Maharāyan from a Hind. Mahī-Rāban (approx. مهرابن without inclusion of the ī), Patāla being placed before it as an indication of the dwelling place. Gangga mahā sūra: as ruler of the Sea by analogy with the other two, therefore probably Indian as well (it completes the number of three !).

Ref. **r.***: Indra puri: denotes the (Indra-) Heaven in the Gujarati version of Kaikeyī's heroic deed (v. 2. II **g.***).

Ref. **w.***: The name Bību sāna (later and in Ro. Bibu sānam throughout) from Vibhūṣaṇa ('the adorning one' instead of Vibhīṣaṇa 'the terrible one': contradiction between name and noble character resolved[5]); c.f. the Tamil form (Vibouchanen (= -am) = Bībū̆ sanam in Sonnerat I p. 164. Vi. as diviner of the stars: v. 2 II **v.***,**x.***.

Ref. **y.**: Battles between Indra pūrī (v. **r.***) and Bīrū hashā pūrwā: identical with the battles between gods and rākṣasas VII 6-8 (in which the details are nonetheless quite different)? Of the names appearing in this context the following belong to Vā.: (Indra pūrī:) Sardula (?) = Sārdūla (VI 20-29) (?); Mantrī Shaksha=Sukeśa (VII 5) (?) v. infra; Anggasta=Agastya (e.g. VI 105), Ganda madāna or Agada madāna=Gandhamādana (I 17, IV 29), Sang (prefaced to proper names as an article of respect) Winātа=Vinata (IV 40); (Bīrūhasha purwa·) Patih (Mal. minister) Sukisa=Sukeśa v. supra (the same person twice?), Jambala māli=Jambumālin (V 44, 58), Matakin or Matākin=Mitraghna (VI 43) (?) (all daemons!). Names from the Mbh. (probably from the Javanese shadow play or a related source): (Indra pūrī): Dur bidāna (?)=Duryodhana, Mangsyā pati=Matsyapati, Citra nantāka=Citrāṅgada, Indra pasta=Indraprastha. Can the Indonesian origin of the story be postulated from the random use of all the names?

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3. For the form of the name c. f. St. note 108 p. 237.
4. The influence of the Prahlāda saga (Prahlāda is the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu and believes in Viṣṇu).
5. C.f. Prasannarāghva Act VII the rhyme *naya-dharma-bhūṣaṇaḥ-Vibhīṣaṇaḥ*.

2

RĀMA'S DESCENT AND LINEAGE.

I 5-18, Ro. p. 2-20, Sh. p. 51-62.

I. Ro.=Va.: **a.** Daśaratha's forbear is the father of mankind (Nabī Adam Islamic for Manu I 70 ? v. II **b.**). **b.** Daś. is a mighty and a wise king. **c.** He prepares a sacrifice to acquire sons = (*putrīyā iṣṭi* I 15? v. II **k.**). **d.** The sacrificial meal is administered to his wives. **e.** Another religiously motivated act performed to acquire sons (v. II **m.**). **f.** R., L., Bharata (= Baradān, v. II **o.**) and Śatrughna (= Citrādān, v. II **o.**) are born. **g.** R. is an incarnation of Viṣṇu (v. II **z.**).

II. Ro.||Vā.: **a.** Daś. rules in Isfahā bogā (not in Ayodhyā). **b.** His ancestors are named (different names from I 70!). **c.** One instead of many ministers. **d.** Daś. wants to found a new city. **e.*** Finds Mandū dārī in a bamboo clump (* his mount is a white elephant. **f.** He marries her. **g.*** The secondary wife Balyā dārī supports the wedding-litter, receives the assurance that her sons will be heirs to the throne. **h.** The city of Mandūra pūri nĕgāra is built and settled. **i.** Purosta Maharīsī (not Ṛṣyaśṛṅga) officiates at Daś.'s sacrifice. **k.** Missing are: preparation of the horse-sacrifice by Vasiṣṭha, performing of the same by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, council of the gods concerning the incarnation of Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu's appearance in the sacrificial fire of the *putrīyā iṣṭi* with the sacrificial meal, procreation of the warrior-apes by the gods. **l.*** Sacrificial meal, six consecrated balls of rice (not a fluid);* a crow robs one of them. **m.** The miraculous gazelle; on the advice of a maharṣi, Daś. hunts elephants in order to acquire sons (second religious act!);(!) kills the son of the ascetic. **n.*** Daś.'s wives are Mandū dārī and Balyā dārī (not Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī). **o.** R. is called Srī Rāma and is not designated as the incarnation of Viṣṇu (v. **z.**); is * green; L. is golden-yellow; Bhar. is called Baradān, Satr. Citrādān

p.* Daś. has a daughter Kīkĕwī dewī. **q.*** Balyā dārī cures Daś. of a boil, again he promises her sons the throne. **r.** (!) R.'s virtues. **s.*** R. and L. maltreat the hunchback dwarf. **t.*** In the guise of a monk Rāv. requests the wife of Daś; the false Mandū dārī (Mandū dakī[1]); (!) Rāv's dispute with the maharṣi. **u.** Daś. in the guise of a boy in Rāv.'s women's quarters; approaches Mandū dākī. **v.*** Sī. is born as the daughter of Rāv. (or Daś.?) and is put at the mercy of the sea. **w.*** Rāv.'s first wife flees to the island of the female ascetics. **x.*** Si. is rescued from the ocean by Maharīsī Kalī, king in Durwātī purwā (not ploughed from the earth by Janaka, king in Mithilā, v. I 70). **y.*** Sī.'s suitors are to shoot through forty palms with a divine bow (how it is lifted I 70) (v. 3 II **o***). **z.*** Rāv. is one of Sī.'s suitors (v. 3 II **h.***). Maharīsī Kalī leaves on his wife's advice ((!) R. as the incarnation of Viṣṇu!) to fetch R. to Sī.'s ceremonial choosing of a husband (v. 3 II **e.**).

Ref. **a.** In agreement with Dozon note 3 p. 462 a Persian origin of the name Isfahā bogā can be postulated.

Ref. **e.*-f.*:** Mandū dārī in the bamboo clump: v. St. p. 89. The bamboo clump is beautifully fragrant: betokens supernatural things, (c.f. Rice p. 37: R. is led to a magic sword (v. 9 II **a.**) by a celestially fragrant aroma.) The mount of Daś. is a white elephant: in Buddhist mythology this is one of the seven treasures of the ruler of the world (Lalitavistara ed. Lefmann p. 15); the Bodhisattva enters the mother's womb as a white elephant with six tusks (Windisch p. 155). Amongst the Śaivas the white elephant belongs to the court of Śiva, e.g. the holy man Sundramūrti-Nāyanār is taken to Kailāsa (Schomerus p. 65f.). Does Ro.'s concept originate in Buddhist Siam with its sacred white elephant or from Śivaitist Southern India (supporting the latter view c.f 1 II **w.***)?

Ref. **g.*,q.*:** The supporting of the litter and the healing of Daś.'s boil, are based on II 9, 11-17: While Daś is doing battle with the daemon Śambara, his wife Kaikeyī saves the king's life, though he has been twice wounded, by withdrawing Daś.'s chariot from the battle. The fulfilment of the two wishes is promised her in advance. In Ravenshaw p. 1122, Kikiai (= Kaikeyī) prevents the chariot from ploughing into the ground during the battle between Daś. and Sambarasoor, by inserting her finger into the hub, when the axle-nail drops out. Daś. promises to grant her a wish for doing this. Instead of a heroic deed, performed by Kaikeyī in the heroic spirit of the women of epic times, there is manifested a deed of forbearing self-sacrifice, corresponding to the Hindu ideal of devotion to one's husband. One wish instead of two: the result of omitting the two-fold wound. Similar to the Rāma saga of Gujarat (Narmakathākosh p. 90f.): when Daś. is rendering Indra assistance in Indrapurī on the occasion of his battle with Sukrācārya, Kaikeyī uses her arm in place of the broken chariot axle (c.f. Ro.) and is promised the fulfilment of two wishes (= Vā.). In a Northern Indian version (Rāmakahānī Bālakāṇḍa p. 3f.), Daś. promises to grant Kaikeyī one wish for supporting his chariot (as in Gujarat) and another for healing a boil under his finger-nail[2]. (The choice of two gifts carefully reasoned by Vā.! Sen p. 91[3] mentions that Daś. falls ill with a carbuncle (= Ro.). Supporting the nuptial litter: influence of the Jainist Rama saga? J.R. IV. 151-169, Kaikeyī, who has chosen Daś. to be her husband[4], drives his chariot, when he engages in combat with the unsuccessful suitors. Litter instead of chariot Indonesian? Accession to the throne, promised twice in place of the Indian choosing of gifts (by which Bhar. becomes heir to the throne), Indonesian or popular Indian.

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[1] This form only on Ro.!

Ref. **i.**: As Ro.'s spelling of the word on p. 47 ff shows (فروصت), Purosta (فروست) is a distorted form of *purohita* "household priest" (prob. فروهيت with the addition of the i).

Ref. **l.*** In Polier p. 297, Daś. is given a consecrated rice cake by the Ṛṣis for Kausalyā, who shares it out among the other wives. The malefactions of the crows, for which she is later punished (3 III **c.** (!)) are ascribed to her as a past event in the episode dealing with the theft of the rice balls (c.f. Rāv. as a thief of women VII 24); this accounts for the children of Daś. being five in number. For the name Gāgak swāra v. 3 III **c** (!).

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[2] Similarly Polier p. 296: Daś. permits Kaikeyī two wishes for saving his life in battle and curing a scorpion-sting.

[3] The healing of Daś. must be Kaikeyī's doing (Sen makes no mention of it). Does the supporting of the chariot belong to the Bengali saga as well?

[4] The choice of a husband replaces the indecent battle of the daemons.

Ref. **m.** (!): Daś. kills the son of the ascetic II 63. Ro = Vā.: In the darkness Daś. thinks the boy is a game-animal; kills him; is cursed by the blind father. R. || Vā.: The deed is perpetrated during the ceremonial elephant hunt when Daś. is already king (instead of before his accession to the throne, likewise Polier p. 296), the boy falls into a pool (he is not fetching water); the sound makes Daś. shoot; Daś. remains oblivious of what has happened (does not find his prey); the blind father (whose name is Bikrama dewa! finds his son (no meeting between Daś. and the parents of the child); his curse; Daś. shall not live to see his son prosper. (Vā.: shall die of anxiety for him;* this son will meet the same end as his own son: according to Han. Nāt. Act XIV (Wilson II p. 372), R. is to be punished for his underhanded killing of Vālin (v. 19 I **f.***) when he is reincarnated as Kṛṣṇa, by suffering death at the hands of V., a hunter.

Ref. **n.*** In Vā Mandū dārī is Rāv.'s wife (v. **t.***). Two wives of Daś. in the Dasaratha-Jātaka (Jacobi p. 84) and in Tavernier (ed. Ball II, p. 191).

Ref. **o.***: Contrary to Dozon p. 444, the form of the name Srī Rāma must surely be taken as Indian. R. is emerald green: in Vā., R. is often described as *śyāma* 'dark' and even *indīvara-śyāma* 'dark as the (blue) night-lotus'. This corresponds to the later conception of R.'s colour being blue (Polier p. 325). According to Ziegenbalg p. 91, R. is thought of as both blue and green. According to Sonnerat I p. 164., he is green (Coromandel Coast. From there to Indonesia? v.1 II **w.*** L. is golden-yellow: this is the colour of 16 of the 24 tīrthaṃkaras of the Jainas, the majority of which stem from the royal house of Ayodhyā; the 14th, Ananta, is one of them and in later mythology L. is recognized as the incarnation of the world-serpent Ananta or Śeṣa (Polier p. 325). This conception of the incarnation in Ro. (v. 3 II **n.*** also)?

Ref. **p.*** The daughter of Daś. : C.f. Kukuā (=Kikĕwī or

Kīkuwī dewī in Sen p. 198 ff. (v. 28 II **c.***).

Ref. **r.** (!): R. is an excellent archer and of a mild disposition c.f. II 1ff.

Ref. **s.*** Maltreatment of the dwarf: v. St. p. 91.

Ref. **t.***: Rāv. appears as a monk (as he does when he abducts Sī.!) in Daś.'s palace. Wishes to abduct Mandū dārī (in Vā. Maṇḍodarī, whom VII 12 he receives from her father Maya)? (Duplicated form of Sī.'s abduction in the past, c.f. VII 24; Rāv. carries away a large number of maiden-goddesses). Mandū dārī and the frog: according to the Dharmaparīkṣā of the Jainist Amitagati (Mironow p. 27), Maṇḍodarī's mother is a frog-woman, who has swallowed the sperm of Maya the ascetic. (Mandodarī is reminiscent of the second in '*mandūka,* a 'frog'!). The false Mandū dārī: v. St. p. 92. (!) Rāv. insults a holy man and is cursed: he shall die at the hands of (men and apes (v. infra).

Ro. || Vā.:1. Rāv. meets the holy man on his way from Daś.'s city (not while conquering the world and in the vicinity of Skanda's birth place). 2. The holy man is a dewa zanggī, Kīsūbrīsū, later the father of the bird-sons destined to become Viṣṇu's mounts (not Śiva's retainer Nandin). 3. Rāv. is angered by the lack of respect shown to him by the holy man (not because Nandin forbids him to disturb Śiva), asks him whether he is a man or a monkey (does not laugh at Nandin's ape-head); Rāv. is to be slain by men and apes. 4. Rāv.'s dispute with Śiva is missing. With reference to 2., Kīsūbrīsū's son is Garūda Mahā bīrū, plunderer of the moon: Mbh. I 20-33 Kaśyapa's son Garuḍa steals the potion of immortality and becomes Viṣṇu's mount. Later, the potion of immortality is supposed to be in the moon. Kīsūbrīsū (كيسوبريسو) from Kaśyapa (approx. كسيف) + ṛṣi (likewise Charpentier OLZ. 1926, p. 283). He is the Viṣṇuitic substitute for Nandin, whose name, at one and the same time the name of Śiva's riding-steer, clearly suggested the choice of Kaśyapa instead of Garuḍa, which would be impossible here. The other two bird-sons of the holy man Dasampānī and Jĕntāyu are Garuda's brother sons (III 14) Sampātī (v. 14 II **d.** (!) and Jaṭāyus (v. p. 16). C.f. also 12 III **a.** Ref. to 1,3,4. These deviations are based on the Viṣṇuitic slant given to the story.

Ref. **u.***: Daś. manages to gain access to Rāv.'s harem with the help of the alleged flower seller: c.f. Waterfield p. 200f. Here also the paramour gains access to the women's quarters, disguised as a girl and helped by the woman gardener but does not lay a finger on his beloved.

Ref. **v.*,x.***: Sī.'s birth and abandonment: I 66 the plough reveals Sī., who emerges from the earth; an agricultural myth, as Jacobi (p. 130ff) has conclusively shown. Janaka is only her adoptive father. Later narrators who did not know the meaning of the story, as indeed Vā. may not have, regarded the omission of exact circumstantial details as a gap which they tried to fill. The development of this process can be traced. Polier p. 303ff.: Rāv. demands a donation of blood from the ṛṣis as a sign of their subjugation. He takes it to Laṅkā in a pitcher. As a result, drought, famine and pestilence stalk the land. Rāv. then has the pitcher buried over the frontier in the land of Janaka, his enemy. In so doing he discovers Sī. in the vessel and fertility is immediately brought about (the latter is perhaps a reminder of Sī.'s original significance as a furrow; Sī.'s origin is cautiously related to a deed of Rāv., whose choice is made obvious by his later association with her). In the Adbhutarāmāyaṇa VI 1-36, Maṇḍodarī, in her anger at the host of her rivals, drinks the blood of the ṛṣis (v. infra), thinking it to be poison. When she becomes pregnant in Rāv.'s absence, she brings on an abortion and buries the fruit of her body in Kurukṣetra. Then Janaka finds the child Sī. at the place. (Here the relationship between Sī. and Rāv. is more firmly established by the introduction of Maṇḍodarī.) In the Jainist Uttarapurāṇa p. 365ff., Sī. is the natural daughter of Rāv. and Maṇḍodarī (= Ro. ? v. infra); the Khecara-princess Maṇimatī has embodied herself in her, to take revenge on Rāv. for the improper interruption of her ascetic pursuits (c.f. VII 17 the same embodiment as the ascetic Vedavatī). The astrologers prophesy ill which shall find its source in the child (= Ro. v. infra). Buried in a box near Mithilā, it is found by Janaka. (Conclusion of the development: Rāv. has become Sī.'s father. Jainist rationalization of the miraculous birth?) As far as the fathering of Sī. is concerned, (v. **u.***:) which is kept vague, R.o. occupies a medial position between Uttarapurāṇa and Adbhutarāmāyaṇa. Is there a connection here with the Dasaratha-Jātaka conception of Sī. as R.'s sister (Jacobi p. 84)? Vi. is the chief of the astrologers: on p.16 Rice makes Vi. summon an astrologer for Rāv.; his prophecy causes Vi. to make an attempt on the life of Daś. and Janaka, who are to be the fathers of R. and Sī. (c.f. Polier infra). Sī. at the mercy of the ocean: variants of the familiar episode in which the child is abandoned in the river (c.f., e.g. Mbh. I 111). In Polier p. 294ff., Cunsillia (Kausalyā) the future mother of R. is thrown into the sea by Rāv.'s retainers at birth, because the astrologers made a prophecy which foreboded ill; she is swallowed by a fish and taken to the shore, from whence she is returned to Ayodhyā by Garuḍa (c.f. Rice supra). Maharīsī Kalī (= Janaka as holy man and king) finds the child during his morning devotions: *saṃdhyo' pāsana* 'veneration of the dawn' c.f. VII 34.

Ref. **z.** (!): In his anger R. assumes the likeness of Viṣṇu. C.f. 21 II **d.*** R. has Viṣṇu's characteristics. In addition to these views not very dissimilar to the Indian incarnation, there exists the somewhat different conception of R. as the descendant of Viṣṇu (v. e.g. p. 41), which occurs exclusively in Sh.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.*** Daś. mounts an elephant with four tusks (not a white elephant): c.f. Indra's elephant Airāvata. **b.** Daś. receives four (v. **c.**) bezoar stones from a maharṣi as a fertility charm (this replaces the sacrifice and the elephant hunt). **c.** Daś.'s sons are born in the following order: R. and Bhar., L. and Śatr. (= I 18); the birth of his daughter is missing (= Vā.: but v. 28. II **c.***: influence of the Kawī-Rāmāyaṇa or a related source? **d.*** R.'s mild disposition is not mentioned amongst his virtues (Indonesian reduction of R. to a mere fairy tale hero?). **e.*** Rāv. asks Kīsūbrīsū whether he is man or Gĕrgasī (not man or monkey as the curse demands) (Indonesian alteration; Gĕrgasī: monster of Malay mythology, v. Wilkinson II, p. 565). **f.** the bird-sons of the holy man are not mentioned (v. 12 III **a.** and 2 II **t.** (!)). **g.** The advice of Maharīsī Kalī's wife, to fetch R. (the incarnation of Viṣṇu) and L., is missing.

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THE DEEDS OF RĀMA'S YOUTH

I 18-77, Ro. p. 20-46, Sh. p. 62-74.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R. receives supernatural weapons at the hands of a holy man. **b.** Sets out on adventures with another (Vā.: the same, v. II **d-e.**) holy man. **c.** Does battle with a female daemon who flings boulders at him. **d.** R.'s initial doubts about killing a female creature. **e.** R. slays two other monsters (v. II **g.**). **f.** R. raises and draws a bow which has come from Śiva (= Bĕtārā Gūrū) (those present swoon); wins Sī. **g.** R. returns home with Sī., slays an opponent of the same name in the presence of his father.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** R. and L. as ascetics with Nīlapurba. **b.** (!) The latter tells of Rāv.'s dispute with R.'s forefather. **c.** R.'s meeting with Nāga Skanda Pĕrtala Dewa. **d.** From him and Nīla purba R. receives *three magic arrows and a staff from the staff of Vissṇu, suitable for a bow (not a number of different weapons from Viśvāmitra). **e.** After subjecting Bhar. and Śatr. to the contest without success, Maharāsī Kalī fetches R. and L. to the ceremonial choosing of a husband for Sī. (Vā.: Viśvāmitra fetches R. and L. to protect his sacrifice, then takes them to Mithilā to win Sī.). **f.** The female daemon killed by R. is called Jagīna (not Tāṭakā); the dwelling of her soul. **g.*** R. slays two other monsters on the way (Vā.: R. overcomes or kills two rākṣasas who are interfering with Viśvāmitra's sacrifice). **h.*** Rāv. and other princes participate in the ceremony of choosing a husband (v. 2 II **z.***). **i.*** They deride R. and L. **k.*** Indrajit comes to the ceremony. **l.*** The bow is made of a maharṣi's spine and was handed down from Bĕtara Gūrū by Bĕtāra Brahmā to Maharīsī Kalī (not from Śiva to Janaka's forefather). **m.*** No suitor can raise it. **n.*** At R.'s command L. raises it with the point of his foot; R. in like manner. **o.*** Rāv. does not dare to draw the bow; he and the other suitors shoot through from 2 to 38 (Rāv.) palms with their own bows. **p.*** Named as Viṣṇu's descendant by Maharīsī Kalī, R. shoots through all the palms with the arrow Gandī wātī which he has despatched on its flight by means of the divine bow. **q.*** Indrajit declines Rāv.'s challenge to kidnap Sī. **r.*** Return home of the unsuccessful suitors; ambush of the four princes;* R. knows of their intentions. **s.** Sī. is concealed by Maharīsī Kalī in the temple, is found by R. and L. **t.** Missing are: Daś.'s appearance at the wedding; the marriage of R.'s brothers. **u.*** R.'s battle with the four princes. **v.** R. declares that the one-time dwelling place of the Jagīna is a suitable spot to build a city. **w.** R.'s rival with the same name is called Puspa Rāma (not R. Jāmadagnya), is skilled in magic and King of Bĕranta Indra (not a warrior-ascetic. **x.** He demands that R. should relinquish his name (not that he should draw Viṣṇu's bow). **y.** (!) Battle with magic weapons.; (!) R.'s opponent is pursued by Gandī wātī, is captured and surrenders. **z.** Daś. arrives during the battle (Vā.: returns home from Mithilā with his sons).

Ref. **a.:** Is there a connection here with R.'s visit to Viśvāmitra (presentation of weapons! v. **e.**)?

Ref. **b.** (!): VII 19: R.'s forefather killed in battle by Rāv. Third canto inserted after VII 23: no outcome of the battle between Rāv. and another of R.'s forefathers. With regard to the battle which is missing in Ro., c.f. the Javanese Sĕrat Kaṇḍa (S t. p. 69f.), in which R.'s forefather forces Rāv. to a peaceful conclusion by proving his magic powers. This simply omitted by the narrators of R.? Ro. = Vā.: R.'s forefather refers to the future battle with R. (= VII 19). 2. Is ruler of the world (D. Cakrawātī v. infra 2., from *cakravartin* 'emperor of the world', in v. 27 of the inserted canto *saptadvīp' eśvara* 'lord of the seven continents'). 3. Rāv. leads a mighty army against his kingdom (VII 19).

Ro. || Vā.: 1. The time of the conflict (Rāv.'s world conquest) not specified (but v. S t. p. 69). 2. R.'s forefather is called Dasarata Cakrawātī. 3. Makes reference to R. in his insulting abuse (VII 19 Anaraṇya, who has been mortally wounded by Rāv., does this). In Ro. the two stories of Vā. are merged into one[1].)

Ref. **d.***: Of all R.'s arrows only Gandī wātī (from Gāṇḍīva, Arjuna's bow in the Mbh.) is mentioned later (in Sh. only p. 141 with the reading Ganda rāta). It is represented outwardly as an arrow but it thinks, talks and acts like a living creature (c.f. **x.** the capture of Puspa Rāma, after inquiring first how the adversary shall be treated, v. p. 17); is similar in nature to the weapon presented to R. by Viśvāmitra, if not exactly the same; they (or their deities or souls) venerate R. in human form and are dismissed by him (I 27-28). C.f. also Bhāsa's Bālacarita, Act I: Viṣṇu's weapons appear and likewise declare their intention of being incarnated. Is Gandī wātī an incarnation of Naga Skanda Pĕrtāla Dewa, whose form he assumes while pursuing Puspa Rāma (v. p. 17: retro-incarnation?)?

Ref. **g.*** Agī gandī, the name of the rhinoceros, is probably a distorted form of the Skt. *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros', whereas the Hind. word *nāgin* '(female) serpent' may be preserved in the serpent's name Sūra Sūla (Sh. nakīn (?).

Ref. **h.*-r.***: Rāv. makes his appearance at the suitors' contest before R., but does not dare draw the bow: c.f. Rājaśekhara's Bālarāmāyaṇa Act I. After a number of princes have arrived for the contest (v. 2 II **z.***), Rāv. appears with his general Prahasta (c.f. **k.*** Indrajit's arrival) but leaves without drawing the bow (c.f. **o.***) before R.[2] comes, voicing threats against Sī.'s future husband as he departs (c.f. **q.*** his challenge to Indrajit to kidnap Sī.)[3]. In Polier p. 308f. Rāv. is present at the same time as R. (= **h.***). In Baldaeus (note to p. 197 of Ziegenbalg) there is also a trial shooting test, in addition to the raising and drawing

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1) R.-Viṣṇu's forefather must on no account be defeated!

2) As in Bhavabūti (v. note 3) a premature clash between the two warriors is avoided in this manner.

3. Origin of the idea. The following is possible but cannot be proved with certainty. Rāv.'s abortive effort to win Sī. has been introduced by Rājaśekhara's predecessor Bhavbhūti in his Mahāvīracarita in order to arrange the whole of the Rāma saga dramatically around one central point, which is the enmity between R. and Rāv., beginning with the suitors' contest. From the episode relating the

of the bow, which R. successfully performs, after Rāv.'s abortive attempt[4] (c.f. the piercing of 38 palms)[5] (= **p.***). The assembled princes deride R. and L.; L.'s trial of strength: in the Jainist Rāma saga (J. R. IV, 342-350) R. and L. are at first scorned by Vidyādhara prince Candragati and his vassals, who have also come to the suitor's contest, but their derision changes to admiration when R. and L. draw two gigantic bows. R. is given Sī. and L. receives Candragati's daughters. Under the influence of the Kṛṣṇa saga L. is of equal importance[6] to R., not, as is always the case in Vā., of lesser importance than his brother (the Jainists recognize R. as the incarnation of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa's elder brother Baladeva and L. the incarnation of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa himself (Rice p. 7).). Is there the same conception of the incarnation in Ro., where the equalizing influence between the two brothers is not complete (L. does not draw the bow!), or is it more likely to be the Hindu conception of the brothers' relationship which underlies Vā., and sees L. as the incarnation of the world-serpent Śeṣa who is subject to Viṣṇu (v. 2 II. **o.***)? The bow is made from the spine of a maharṣi: c.f. the fashioning of the Vajra from the bones of the ṛsi Dadhīca (Mbh. III 101). The prowess of R. and the other princes at archery: in the Lalitavistara (Lefmann p. 153ff.) the rival suitors of Bodhisattva in some cases shoot through a fair proportion, in other cases only a small number, of the bronze drums set up as a target, but they do this with

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arrival of Rāv.'s emissary, who sues for the hand of the princess in the version by Bhavbhūti (Mahāvīracarita Act I), always cautious in his emendations, or his emulator Murāri (Anargharāghava Act III), Rājaśekhara, intent on dazzling elaborations of the material, has made Rāv. appear at the suitors' contest and has done so probably under the influence of the saga in the Mbh. dealing with the choice of a husband (I 184ff.: the hostile paṇḍavas and kauravas at the ceremony where Draupadī selects a husband). Whether Bhavabhūti or, independent of him, Rājaśekhara, as influenced by the Rāma saga of the Padmapurāṇa (Patalkaṇḍa 112: the Asura Bāṇa arrives with other suitors when Sī. is to choose a husband), or whether one of the poets used forgotten popular sagas, is a problem which defies solution.

[4] The string of the divine bow crushes his thumb.

[5] Relationship of these sagas to the Rāma dramas? The similarity between Rājaśekhara and Ro. is noteworthy.

[6] This is general amongst the Jainist (L., not R., slays Rāv. Rice p. 68).

their own bows, whereas Bodhisattva uses the bow of his forefather, which he alone can wield, to pierce all the drums, and in addition, the brazen boar placed behind the very last drum. Trees used as a target: v. St. p. 93, the number 40 could be Malayo-Islamic.

Ref. **r.***: R. knows the intentions of the four princes: divine omniscience of R. Viṣṇu.

Ref. **t.**: The wedding of R.'s brother is missing: L's wedding could hardly be expected here (v. 13 II **b.*** and 28 III **f.*** L. as an ascetic!) and is not genuine in Vā. either (Jacobi p. 53).

Ref. **u.***: Battle with the four princes: c.f. St. p. 94.

Ref. **w.**: The name Puspa Rāma (فسف رام) may have been misread from Paraśurāma (the u being shown perhaps as فرسورام), another name of R. Jāmadagnya. P.R.'s descent from the dewa zanggī corresponds to the conception of Paraśurāma as an avatar of Viṣṇu (Polier p. 313). Descent instead of incarnation for R. himself (v. 2 II **z.**).

Ref. **y.** (!): Pursued by the arrow, c.f. III **c.** (!).

III. Sh. || Ro. **a.** The stay with Nīla purba missing. **b.** Short description of the choice of Sī.'s husband, divine bow is not mentioned, Rāv. and Indrajit are not present. **c.** (!) Punishment of the insolent crow. **d.** Sī. is found in the temple and is married but these events are described as a digression (the city encircled seven times as 2 II **g.***). **e.** After doing battle with the four princes R. decides not to return home (v. 5 III **a.**); the one-time dwelling place of the Jagīna and the battle with Puspa Rāma are not mentioned.

Ref. **c.** (!): Punishment of the crow (v. also 2 II **l.***) V 38, 21-36, a canto inserted after II 95, 32-57.

Sh. = Vā.; 1. The crow causes annoyance to people making sacrifice v. infra 2.). Is pursued by a magic arrow. 3. Survives. Sh. || Vā.: The punishment ensues during R.'s stay with Maharīsī Kalī (not during his life in the forest). 2. The crow is a constant nuisance to Maharīsī Kalī and his priests (Vā.: wounds Sī., in the canto which has been added: during a sacrificial ceremony). 3. It is called Gāgaḳ sūrā. 4. The magic weapon is R.'s arrow (not a bewitched blade of grass). 5. The arrow returns to R., as the crow has given its promise to eat only carrion in future (Vā.: blinds the crow in one eye when it seeks refuge with R.).

Ref. 1 and 2. The protection of Viśvāmitra's sacrifice by R. influenced this? (Maharīsī Kalī fetches R. and L. This corresponds to the Viśvāmitra, v. II **e.**). Ref. 2. The motif which is still missing in V 38, the nuisance caused to people making sacrifice, has now come to the fore, compared with the wounding of Sī. Ref. 3 v. infra 2. Ref. 4. Aetiological motif: c.f. the story of the black stripes on the squirrel's back in Thomson p. 38, which is also connected with the Rāma saga). V. also 16 II **i.*** and 21 II **o.***. A connected and similar story 11 II f. (!): Ro. = Vā. 1. The crow disturbs a sacrificial ceremony. 2. Flies up into the sky. Ro. || Vā.: The event is to prepare the way for Sī.'s abduction. 2. The crow is called Gāgak nāsir. 3. It intends to throw a piece of beef into the sacrifice. 4. Is killed (not blinded). Ref. 2. The crow is called Kaukasoor (Skt. Kākāsura in Ravenshaw p. 1123. Mal. Gāgaḳ sūra (ڬاڬق سورا) and G. nāsir (ناسر) from *kākāsur* (*a*) substituting *kaka* by Mal *gāgak* 'crow' and mis-spelling *asur* (*a*) (Vowel indicated as approx. اسور). Ref. 3. The sacrifice is to be violated. In Sen p. 101f. the godless rākṣasas also exploit the sacredness of the cow against their opponents (in the battle for Lankā).

4

RĀMA EXCLUDED FROM SUCCESSION

II 1-48, 57-115, Ro. p. 46-53.

I. Ro. = Vā. (the description contains fewer details): **a.** Daś. intends to have R. consecrated as king. **b.** Arrangement of the requisite ceremonies. **c.** The joy of all the people because of the widespread affection for R. **d.** A hunch-back incites the second wife of the king: total loss of influence threatens her and her sons by R.'s consecration. **e.** Reminding him of his earlier promises (v. 2 II **g.***,**q.***), she forces Daś. to make her sons heirs to the throne (Vā.: one son) and informs R. as Daś. is in no position to do so. **f.** The priest comes to perform the consecration (v. II **o.**; II 13 mentioned en passant before the news is broken to R.). **g.** The court is outraged. **h.** L. and Sī. accompany R.; departure of the travellers. **i.** After the laying-aside of the royal jewels by L., they set off in a chariot, accompanied by their retainers. **k.** Daś. dies. **l.** When night falls the travellers rest. **m.** Abandon their companions secretly. The latter return to the city. **n.** Bhar. and Śatr. (Vā.: Bhar.) take over the government, are not consecrated.

II. Ro. || Vā. (v. note supra): **a.** According to astrological observations Daś. will not live to see R.'s accession to the throne. **b.** The ceremonies are to take place on a propitious day (not on the day the decision is reached). **c.** Puroṣta Maharīsī officiates at the ceremonies (not Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva). **d.** The informing of R. with regard to the consecration during an audience and R.'s and Sī.'s night fast are missing. **e.** A hunch-back dwarf (not a hunch-back lady-in-waiting) is party to the conversation between Daś. and Puroṣta Maharīsī, does not hear of R.'s coming consecration from a servant). **f.** Influences R.'s step-mother on two days (not one) **g.** Does not spend any time sulking in the room. **h.** She is not cast out by Daś. (v. infra) **i.** Stops anyone entering to see him. **k.** Has R. called by court ladies (not by Daś.'s charioteer). **l.** Before being informed by R. she does not demand the fulfilment of Daś.'s promise. **m.** The angry outbursts from L. and Kausalyā, the presentation made by R. to the brahmins are missing. **o.** Argument between Balyā dārī and Puroṣta Maharīsī. **p.** The travellers only take their leave of Mandū dārī (Vā.: farewell from Daś. and his wives in a stormy audience session; the donning of the ascetic's robes; Daś. and the queens accompany the chariot a little way; Daś. disowns Kaikeyī again). **q.*** Daś. dies immediately after R.'s departure. **r.** Attempt to call R. back, in vain. **s.** R.'s companions are deceived by the chariot tracks (not abandoned secretly). **t.** Do not wish to be subject to Balyā dārī. **u.** Bhar. and Śatr. send others to find R. and make preparations for Daś.'s funeral rites at which they, not being equal to him by birth, may not officiate. Mandū dārī devotes herself to good works (Vā.: Bhar. is fetched from his grandfather's court; has Daś.'s corpse cremated and goes to R., laying aside the honour of becoming king; in vain tries to persuade him to return; returning home he lives the life of an ascetic (v. 20 I-II)).

Ref. **k.**: The replacement of the charioteer by the courtly ladies is noteworthy in connection with what is said concerning the keeper of the gate in 8 II **b.*** brought out.

Ref. **q.***: Daś.'s sudden death is brought out in Vā. also (c.f. Jacobi p. 47f.). In Polier (p. 317) it is kept as a fall from the pinnacle.

III. Sh. || Ro.: C.f. 5 III **a.**

5

RĀMA'S TRAVELS.

II 49-56, 116-118, III 1-16, Ro. p. 53-59, Sh. p. 74-79.

I. Ro. = Vā. (the more exact geographical details together with other smaller details are missing; certain events have changed places): **a.** R., Sī. and L. visit a holy man Anggasa dewa (from Agastya? Va.: Bharadvāja), who invites R. to come and practise asceticism with him but directs him to more secluded regions at his request. **b.** They ford a river. **c.** Meeting with King Kīkūkan (probably Niṣāḍa Guha, but an adulterated version of the name), who is friendly towards R.'s house and offers him his kingdom, his wife Māī rānī sūrī (= Anasūyā, Atri's wife II 117f. prefixed by Hind. *māī* 'mother'?) towards Sī. **d.** They visit a certain ṛṣi Wīrā(ta) saḳtī, (according to St. note 159=Virādha III 2 ff., in Vā.: Atri) before entering the forest of daemons; he imparts knowledge of magic to R. (III 12 Agastya presents him with divine weapons). **e.** Penetration of the forest, the name of which Indra pawānam (اندرفوانم) may well have been misconstrued from Dandakawānam (with ق instead of ک approx. دندقوانم) = Vā. Daṇḍakāraṇya 'forest of d's'. **f.** A rākṣasa abducts Sī. and is slain. **g.** They settle down to take up the ascetic life.

II. Ro.|| Vā. : (v. supra partly). **a.** The crossing of one river is effected with the aid of R.'s arrow. **b.*** Kīkūkan tells of a miraculous fish-catch (the Niṣāda are engaged in fishing, St. note 156); they stay with him for some time. **c.** They settle down for the first time to devote themselves to asceticism; this event is missing (also Bhar.'s visit, v. 20 I-II) **d.** Wirāta saktī's blessing *sa'ūsānī* (سؤسانی): surely distorted form of *svasti* 'Hail, blessing' (the vowels being represented approx. سواستی). **e.** Sī.'s abductor is called Purba ītā (his name Virādha has been transferred to another person, v. I **d.**). **f.** He is killed immediately by R.'s arrow. **g.** The visits to the ṛṣis in the forest of daemons and the meeting with Jaṭāyus are missing. **h.** R. considers the place where they are staying as a suitable spot to found a city. **i.*** L. builds two huts instead of one (does he wish, as an ascetic, v. 13 II **b.*** and 28 III **f.*** to avoid looking upon Sī., similar to Sen p. 178?). **k.** R. forms a retinue round him miraculously: counterpart to the creation of Mandū dārī's image (v. 2 II **t.*** and Vālin's second wife (v. 7 II **m.***), but without the preliminary stage of the frog.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** After vanquishing the four princes (v. 3 II **u.***), R. does not wish to return to the paternal kingdom, promised to his brothers (Indonesian re-casting of the story.). An Indian version would hardly omit events at the court which show R. Viṣṇu's character in such a good light). **b.** The travellers cross through the forest of Dālīlam or Dālīnam. **c.** They come to a maharṣi. **d.** He warns R. about the two pools with clear and cloudy water. **e.** L. goes in search of water, does battle with a monster. **f.*** R. and Sī. are changed into apes by bathing in the pool with clear water. **g.*** Disenchantment by L. **h.*** Han's birth (v. 8 II **o.** (!) and 21 III **f.** (!)) **i.** Battle with the headless and armless monster (v. I **f.** and III 69-73 the slaying of the headless rākṣasa Kabandha after Sī.'s abduction) after entering the rākṣasa-infested region (v. I **e.**). **k.** They settle at the dwelling place of the Jagīna. **l.** The corpse of the prince who was slain in battle by R. is taken home (ref. 3 II **u.***).

6

RĀVAṄA'S JOURNEY TO THE SUN

Second canto, inserted after VII 23, R. p. 59-63, Sh. p. 79-80.

I. Ro. = Vā.: Rāv. is plagued by the rays of the sun (in Vā. this is only a contributory factor, not the real reason for the campaign), intends to do battle with the sun (Vā.: the Sun-god).

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** He sets out on his war from Laṅkā (v. 1 II **k.**). (Not during his world conquest). **b.*** Vi. warns Rāv. **c.** The heat forces Rāv. to retreat (Vā. the Sun-god leaves his gate-keepers to deal with Rāv., who is demanding battle or submission). **d.** (!) Rāv. kills a brother-in-law. **e.*** His son's birth; his youth (* the children's quarrel while at play).

Ref. **b.*** Extension of Vi.'s rôle of warning his brother.

Ref. **e.** Perhaps this is a version of the story which stands in its own right next to Vā. and is related in form to the episodes about Han's burning (v. 8 II **o.** (!)) and that of Sampāti's wings (v. 14 II **d.** (!)).

Ref **d.** (!) VII 23, 17-19, (VI) 31. Ro. = Vā: 1. His brother-in-law is killed inadvertently. 2. He has a large mobile tongue (c.f. his name Vidyujjihva 'lightning tongue' in Vā. and his description as *mahājihva* 'with a large tongue' VI 31)[1]. Ro. || Vā.: 1. The deed occurs after Rāv.'s journey to the sun (not during his conquest in the Underworld): c.f. 1 II **k.** 2. Name Běrga singā (not Vidyujjihva). 3. Death as guardian of Laṅkā (not in battle).

Ref. **e.***: The boys quarrel when playing, the son decides to avenge his father, similar in the Rājput ballad by Bijai Māl (Grierson. The Song of Bijai Māl p. 138). For the birth of Sī.'s son c.f. also St. p. 96, and in addition the story of his killing at the hands of L. (v. 9 II **a.***).

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** Vi.'s warning is missing. **b.** The story of Běrga sīngā's son's youth likewise.

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[1] Although he is already supposed to be dead; one of Vā.'s numerous contradictions.

7

RĀVAṄA AND VĀLIN

VII 34, Ro. p. 63-75, (81-85)

I. Ro. || = Vā.: Vālin is a prince of the apes and overcomes Rāv.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** Rāv.'s battle with V. (Balyā, in Sh. Balī rāja) takes place during the latter's journey to the kĕindrāan (not during his conquest of the world v. 1 II **k.**)). **b.*** Vi. warns Rāv. against taking his wife (v. 6 II **b.***). **c.*** At the time of the battle V. is not an ascetic (v. **o.***). **d.*** The battle is in the sky over V.'s palace in the forest (not on the ocean to the south). **e.*** V. takes the initiative. **f.*** Rāv. uses divine weapons. **g.*** V. overturns Rāv.'s chariot and steals his wife (Vā.: When Rāv. creeps up on him, he takes him captive, drags him bodily to the three other oceans and only releases him in Kiṣkindhā). **h.** Han. witnesses the battle and Smabūrāna is dwelling at V.'s palace while it is taking place. **i.*** V. lives with the abducted woman. **k.*** Han. steals human princesses to wait upon them. **l.*** V.'s teacher (* whose pupil is Bĕgāwān Kānu[1] returns Rav.'s wife to him. **m.** A new wife is created for V. (* Han. fetches a mountain with flowers). **n.*** The birth of V.'s sons. **o.** Sugrīva becomes V.'s regent; *V.'s and Han.'s asceticism on the mountain of Antā īdī (description of the ascetic practices) and in the tamarind tree (v. 16 II d.*). **p.** V. puts Kumbhakarṅa's army to confusion (**q.*** = 8 II **g.***: V. and Sugrīva slay Rāv.'s emissary).

Ref. **a.*,c.*-g.*,o.*-q.*:** Apparently the Brahmin and Jainist versions of the enmity between Rāv. and V. have been combined here. The latter (J. R., II, 187-264 like Ro., makes the adversaries meet in combat three times as follows: V., Sugrīva and their subjects are not apes; they bear the name only because an ape is emblazoned on their banner (Rice, p. 49. Can the human birth of V. and Sugrīva be connected with this? V. 8 II **a.-k.**). Rāv. sends an emissary to demand V.'s subjection but the latter refuses (c.f. **q.*** Rāv.'s emissary is put to death). Rāv. goes out against him but is captured by V. after a duel with magic weapons (c.f. **f.*** Rāv.'s weapons), carried across the breadth of the earth through the air and is finally set free on the field of battle. Then V. abdicates in favour of Sugrīva[2] (c.f. **o.*** his appointment as regent?) and on the mountain of Aṣṭāpada (from this Antā īdī انتايدى from اشتاقد in **o.***?) he becomes a Jainist monk (**o.*** as in Vā. occasional asceticism without relinquishing his rule!). Rāv. marries the sister of V. and Sugrīva (c.f. 8 II **d.*** V.'s and Sugrīva's half-sister?) and after Sugrīva has done obeisance to him, he returns to Laṅkā. When Rāv. is on one of his flights V. stops his chariot over the Aṣṭāpada by magic. C.f. **c.*-d.*** the interference in Rāv.'s journey through the sky on the second encounter and **p.*** the effectiveness of V.'s asceticism at a distance, in putting the rākṣasa army to confusion on the third encounter). Dismounting, Rāv. lifts up the mountain in his rage, but V. traps it with the end of his foot, pins Rāv.'s arms beneath it and only releases him when he screams pitifully. Rāv. begs V.'s pardon and the adversaries are reconciled on their parting[3].

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[1] Kānū (كانو) read Kānwa = Kaṇva ṛṣi, e.g. Mbh. I 71 ff.)

Ref. **g.*, i.*-n.***: Poetic justice in later narrators: Rāv. must suffer just as much as R., with the added penalty that his wife submits to the abductor and becomes pregnant by him. (C.f. 2 II **m.*** (!) The story embodies the same idea, which deals with the slaying of R. as Kṛṣṇa by V. as huntsman). * Han. fetches a mountain: duplication of VI 74 and 101.C.f. what is said in 5 II **k.** for the creation of the new wife.

III Sh. || Ro.: C.f. 1 1 **e.**: The real Kiṣkindhā is not subject to Rāv.

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[2] In Rice p. 54 this happens before hostilities break out.

[3] For some reason Vali Bhattāraka has become a Jainist holy man (Mironow p. 49). His life as king and ascetic are separate: the adaptation of his life to that of the Jainist holy man. One of the resultant effects could well be the duplication of the encounter between V. and Rāv. and even its triplication when the emissary is turned away. The duel, instead of Rāv.'s ambush of V., is in accord with the Jainist's more postitive attitude towards Rāv. The mountain is uprooted etc.: taken over by the Jainists from VII 16 (Rāv. and Śiva), who have replaced Śiva by V.

8

GAUTAMA AND HIS FAMILY

I 48-49, VII 30, 21-49, Ro. p. 75-81.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** The ascetic is called Gautama. **b.** His wife's asceticism. **c.** Her adultery during his absence. **d.** It is discovered. **e.** She is cast out.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** G. is called Bĕgāwan Kutāma. **b.** His father is Sang Pĕrdāna. Das.'s gate-keeper. **c.** G.'s wife is called Dewī Indra (not Ahalyā). **d.*** From G. she has a daughter Dewī Anjātī (v. 7 II **a.***-**q.***). **e.** Double adultery with two divine princes in the Kĕindrāan; (not with Indra in the hermitage); birth of two sons. **f.** They are called Vālin (v. 7 II **a.**) and Sugrīva. **g.*** They kill Rāv.'s emissary (v. 7 II **q.***). **h.** The adultery is discovered as a result of the quarrel of the two children about the magic casket (Vā.: G. takes the guilty parties by surprise.) **i.** Test of the bastards' legitimacy and their changing into apes. (Vā.: G. curses Indra and Ahalyā **k.** They rule over the kingdom of the apes. **l.*** The ape-king Sambūrāna. **m.** The banished woman curses her daughter and repairs to the Kĕindrāan. **n.*** The daughter's asceticism on the point of a needle. **o.** (!) Han.'s birth and youth.

Ref. **a.-k.**: C.f. the birth of Vālin and Sugrīva: 1. canto inserted after VII 37[1]. Ro. = Vā.: V. and Su. are sons of two immergods from the same woman. 2. They are changed by immersing themselves in a pool. 3. V. and Su. become (Vā.: are) apes; the kingdom of the apes. Ro. || Vā.: 1. V. and Su. are born as human beings; their mother is the wife of the ascetic (not Ṛkṣarajas the ape who sometimes turns into a woman in a pool). 2. The fathers are a prince of the Kĕindrāan and the Mamabang (Vā.: Indra and Sūrya). 3. The explanation of the names of Vālin and Sugrīva is missing. 4. Two pools with clear and cloudy water in the forest (not one pool on the Meru). 5. V. and Su. are changed into apes by immersing themselves in the pool (v. 2). Gautama's oath when the legitimacy of the bastards is on trial. 7. V. and Su. (not Ṛkṣarajas) rule in the kingdom of the apes; its name is Lagūr Katagīna (not Kiṣkindhā). Ref. 1, 5: G.'s wife may be named as the mother of the half-brothers, because a more widely known mythological figure is preferable to a woman who has been changed into an ape; in addition there was her relationship to Indra. Therefore her sons must be human beings. The Jainist conception of V. and Su as human beings, mentioned on page 79, has perhaps contributed to this. Ref. 2: It is true that V. is once called son of the king of the Indras (= Indra?), v. p. 24. Ref. 3: Not to be expected outside the Sanskrit tale. Ref. 4: C.f. 5 III **f.*-h.*** Han.'s birth. In Ravenshaw's version (p. 1124) of the birth of V. and Su., which otherwise agrees with Vā., there are two pools in a wood, the water of which imparts the form of a man or of a woman. Ref. 6: Connected with Gautama's curse in Vā. (v. **i.**?) Ref. 7: Result of 1., (Lagūr) Katagīna (كتكنت) can possibly be explained more easily as being connected with a Tamil form of Kishkinta (Baumgartner p. 151, note 3. approx. كشكنت) than with Kaṭakin, the name of the mountain, as suggested by St. note 118.

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[1] This story combines the condradictory details concerning the origin of V. and Su. IV. 9 (death of their unknown father), where only one ape can be meant and I 17 (Indra and Sūrya as apes, procreate V. and Su. by maiden-goddesses) and moulds them into a united whole.

Ref. **b.**: Gatekeeper, Skr. *pratīḥāra*: A high official of the court who is trusted by the king and takes the place of the epic charioteer later (Kathās. passim).

Ref. **l.** The story of Sambūrāna duplicates the one of V. and Su. The episode relating the submerging in the pool and the accompanying oath is here replaced by the well-known motif[2] of a god's curse.

Ref. **n.***: V. St. p. 95 for the type of asceticism.

Ref. **o.** (!) C.f. Han's birtḥ IV 66, 9-29, VII 35-36. Ro. = Vā.: 1. No reason (IV 66 inadequate) is given for Han.'s ape-form (v. also St. p. 94 f.) 2. Name of his mother[3]. 3. Vāyu's assistance (in Vā. Han.'s father) at Han.'s birth. 4. This is accomplished at a secluded spot. 5. Han. thinks the sun is a fruit and jumps for it. 6. His presumptuous behaviour is punished. 7. Han. is restored. 8. The sun imparts supernatural gifts to him.

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[2] C.f. Vaiśravaṇa's curse III 2.

Ro. || Vā.: 1.* Han.'s father is R. (not Vāyu). 2.* The miraculous conception of Han. with Vāyu's (= Rāja Bāyū ītū[4]) help 3. His mother is Gautama's daughter (differently IV 66). 4. The hour of Han.'s birth (Islamic!). 5.* He is completely white. 6.* Sang pĕrdāna's prophecy regarding Han.'s father. 7. Shooting stars fall from his mouth when Han. speaks. 8. His mother points out the red fruits. 9. Han. is burned by the sun (Vā.: Rāhu 5), complains to Indra who smashes Han.'s jaw '*hanu*'); his members fall into the sea. 10. Sang Pĕrdāna, Vālin and Sugrīva threaten the sun (Vāyu does not intervene); standing still for an hour the sun revives Han.'s members which have been collected by the fish (not healed by Brahmin). 11. The sun imparts the arts of war to him (Vā.: esoteric knowledge). 12. He receives magic knowledge from Sang Pĕrdana (not from the gods); Sang Pĕrdāna imparts esoteric knowledge to V. and Su. 13. Han.'s mother instructs him concerning his food. 14. He lives as an ascetic and provides for his mother (Vā.: he practises mischievous pranks and is cursed by the ṛṣis.

Ref. 1-2. In the Śiva-Rāmer Juddha of the Bengali Kavicandra, Han., once the gate-keeper of Śiva, is given to R. by the latter. In other Bengali versions of the Rāma saga he is an incarnation of Śiva (Sen p. 41) and also Polier p. 336. It can be seen that Han., occupying an important place in popular beliefs, has been instated in the mythological system of the Śaivas. Can one assume that there is an echo of Śiva's growth from the Vedic storm-god Rudra in the metamorphosis of Han., the son of the wind-god, first into a servant and then an incarnation of Śiva? Sonship is not very different from incarnation. The Śivaitic conception of Han. has then been taken over by the Vaiṣṇavas in correspondingly varied form[6] (c.f. 2 II **t.** (!) Nandin-Kaśyapa). For the transference of the sperm c.f. St. p. 95. Ref. 3. v. St. p. 94. Han. related to Vālin and Sugrīva in Polier p. 336. Ref. 5, 7. St., note 168 refers to the albino beliefs in Indian islands. The shooting stars can of course symbolize Han.'s talkativeness (IV 3) and the white colour can perhaps be associated with Indian divine animals (Elephant v. 2 II **e.*** Ref. 6. C.f. the part played by the ear-rings for R.'s and Han.'s meeting (ĕ. 16 II **k.*** Ref. 9. Influence of the story by Sampāti (v. 14 II **d** (!)), or of Rāv.'s journey to the sun in the H.S.R. version (v. 6 II **c.**), or even an earlier version of the story. The latter point of view is supported by the fact that it is more natural for Han. to be burned (as feared by Vāyu VII 35) as a consequence of his leap to the sun, than to be punished by Indra, using this as an explanation of his name.

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[3] (Dewī Anjātī is a corruption from Anjānī (so also St. v. III c). v. III c). for Añjanā.

[4] C.f. St. note 149 for the form of the name.

III. Sh.|| Ro.: **a.** Only Han.'s story is present (v. 5 III **f.*-h.*** and 21 III **f.***) **b,*** R. fathers Han. in the form of an ape during his travels (not during his stay on the lotus-flower) (v. S t. p. 95. Reasons for Han.'s ape-form!). **c.** His mother is called Dewī Anjānī (= Vā.). **d.** Vāyu is decribed as a wind (= Vā.)

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5. The daemon who swallows sun and moon.
6. St., p. 95f., inspite of the abundance of material, did not realize the development of this conception. The equation R. = Vāyu (p. 95 f.) must be refuted.

9

ŚŪRPAṆAKHĀ AND THE PRINCES

III 17-18, Ro. p. 85-89, Sh. p. 80-82.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** Śu. desires R.'s love. **b.** R. refers her to L. who is unmarried. **c.** Her fruitless efforts to win L. **d.** She behaves in an unseemly fashion. **e.** Is mutilated by L. **f.** Takes refuge with her family.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.*** L. kills Śū.'s son. **b.** She seeks the aid of relations. **c.** The council suggests that R. should be abducted. **d.** She appears before R. in beautiful aspect[1]. **e.*** Lost in meditation L. leaves her unheeded (Vā.: turns her away scornfully). **f.** Śū. insults Sī. and R. (no murder attempt on Sī.) **g.*** As a woman Śū. is only to be maimed (not slain). **h.*** Letter on her back. **i.** Assuming her daemonic aspect again she flies up into the air. **k.** Loses her nose and a hand (not nose and ears). **l.** Her cousin (not her brother) comes to her aid.

Ref. **a.***: C.f. the Jainist Rāma saga (J.R. IV, 376-359): Śambūka, son of Khara and Candranakhā[2] practises asceticism in a bamboo thicket in order to acquire the divine sword Sūryahāsa; the time required is 12 years and seven days. Three days before the time has elapsed it descends from heaven and is found by L. Trying out the weapon, he cuts through the thicket and beheads Śambūka.[3]. Distressed, he brings the news to R. Candranakhā finds the corpse and goes in search of R. and L. suspecting them of perpetrating the deed. (The story replaces that of Sū.'s mutilation which appeared to conflict with the commandment of sparing life.)

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[1] III 17, 26 she seems to do this during the course of her efforts to win R.

[2] Weakening of the name Śurpaṇakhā "with nails like the winnowing of grain" Jainist style; c.f. J.R. II 224f.

[3] The same story of an ascetic is told by Devendra, c.f. Jacobi, Māhārāṣṭrī-Erzählungen p. 7; R. slays the Śudra ascetic Śambūka VII 75ff.

Ro. || J.R.: 1. Śū. must not only suffer her son's death, but also her own mutilation. Ro. therefore combines both the epic and Jainists traits. T. Śambūka is called Darsasīngā, his father Bĕrga sīnga (v. 6 II **d.** (!)), the sword Candra wāli[4], which is probably = to Candrāvali (c.f. Rāv.'s sword Candrahāsa VII). 3. Darsasīngā intends to avenge his father, v. 6 II **e.*** 4. His mother brings provisions to him once a week (not when he has completed his asceticism). 5. The sword comes after eight (not 12) years. 6. It performs mighty feats. L. is presented it by R.

Ref. **e.***: In accordance with L.'s ideas as an ascetic (v. 13 II **b.***).

Ref. **g.**:* C.f. R.'s doubts about slaying Tāṭakā (v. 3 I **c.**).

Ref. **h.**:* For the letter on Śū.'s back v. St. p. 96.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** L. kills Darsasīngā with his own sword. **b.** Śū. immediately goes in search of R. **c.** The episodes dealing with insults against R. and Sī, and the letter on Śū.'s back are missing. **d.** Only her nose is maimed. **e.** Returns home (v. 11 II **a.**).

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[4] Pĕmĕnda wālī (ڤمندوالي) Ro. p. 63 is a corrupted written form of Candra wālī (چندروالي).

10

THE BATTLE WITH THE RĀKṢASA ARMY

III 19-31, Ro. p. 89-93.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R.'s miraculous feats in a battle with arrows. **b.** Attack, flight, renewed attack and total annihilation of the army. **d.** Death of the leader after the horses and charioteer have fallen and the chariot has been destroyed (Formula for the conquest of the rākṣasas VI passim).

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.*** The battle, with the 14 rākṣasas is missing. **b.** One rākṣasa prince (not two) without second-in-command. **c.*** L. takes part in the battle (does not guard Sī.), slays the hostile commander. **d.*** His counsellor surrenders and is given the city of the fallen man, his son goes to Rāv. **e.** The flight of Akampana is missing.

Ref. **a.***: As J. R. V, 410-VI 57 and in Polier p. 327. Has the original thereby been omitted?

Ref. **b.**: The two commanders are called Khara and Dūṣaṇa in Vā Darkālah sīna (درکاله سین) is probably misread from Karadūsana in Kats p. 213, which is written approx. کاردوسان when the vowels are indicated and is the name of one person (misunderstood dual-form or dual-type form) in the wayang. (C.f. the structure of Sukasarāna 23 II **r.**).

Ref. **c.***: J. R. VI, 12-57 does battle alone with the enemies and kills their commanders Khara and Dūṣaṇa (greater prominence of L. in the Jainist Rāma saga ! v. 3 II **n.***). The fact that R. refuses L.'s request to do battle alone indicates in Ro. a bridging of the gap between the Brahmin and Jainist stories.

Ref. **d.***: J. R. VI 15ff., 53-57: Virādha, the son of the ruler of Pātālalaṅkā dethroned by Khara, is given his father's realm again for proffering his aid to L., which the latter does not, however, accept, and drives out Khara's son Saundara who leaves to go to Rāv. This is the sober Jainist recasting of III 4: R. and L. save the rākṣasa Virādha. If St.'s equation

Virādha = Wirāta (saḳtī) is correct, the name Sĕmandārī sīna instead of Virādha probably resulted from it being taken over into one of the versions already containing V.; any other explanation is hardly possible (v. 51 **d.** and II **e.**).

Ref. **e.**: The flight of Akampana in Vā. contradicts the total annihilation of the army. Ro. has, then, the original form.

11

THE ABDUCTION OF SITĀ

III 32-49, Ro. p. 93-97, Sh. p. 82-85.

I Ro. = Vā.: **a.** Śū. lies to Rāv. about her mutilation (different details from those in Vā.). **b.** Rāv. decides to abduct Sī. **c.** Rākṣasa in the form of a gazelle as helper (v. II **c.**). **d.** R. sets out on the hunt to please Sī., who is guarded by L. **e.** R.'s voice calls for help; L. only leaves Sī. to invalidate her accusations. **f.** Rāv., as a mendicant monk, abducts Sī.

II Ro. || Vā.: **a.** Inspite of a repeated order Śū does not come to Rāv.; he discovers her condition (Vā. after the rākṣasas have been defeated she flees to him). **b.** The advice of Sū. does not play a part in Rāv.'s plan of abduction. **c.** Two rākṣasas with the appearance of dogs, called by Rāv. (Vā.: Rāv. fetches Mārīca). **d.** Their names Mahā loka (not Mārīca v. III **a.**) and Pĕrjanggī (or Prābū janggī) sūra. **e.*** A gold and a silver gazelle each (instead of one gold and one silver one presented). **f.** (!) The father of the two is to disturb R.'s sacrifice; is killed. **g.*** The son of the slain king arrives (v. 10 II **d.***). **h.** Janasthāna (R.'s dwelling-place III 21 and elsewhere) is called *tānah Basrāh*. **i.*** Rāv. himself, not Mārīca, calls for help, and this three times. **k.*** L. draws a circle around Sī.'s hut. **l.*** Rāv. makes no amorous proposal at all; he abducts Sī. when she gives him alms. **m.** (!) Sī. drops shreds of her garment.

Ref. **f.** (!): See the punishment of the crow (3 II **c.** (!)).

Ref. **h.**: *tānah*[1] *Basrāh* (تانه بسراه) from Janasthāna with alif representing the vowel in the first syllable, approx. جانستان) ?

Ref. **i.***: Parallels in St. p. 97.

Ref. **k.***: Han. Nat. Act III v. 59 and Wilson

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[1] *tānah* Mal. 'land'

Theatre of the Hindus II, p. 365f. L. draws a circle around Sī. with the point of his bow. It is drawn without mention of the instrument in Polier p. 331f.; when Rāv. tries to cross it, flames shoot up (c.f. p. 29. L.'s exhortation to the earth to protect Sī. Both in contradistinction to the more developed forms of Han. Nat ?[2]. The circle also appears in the popular plays of Gujurat (according to Lector Travidia).

Ref. **l.***: As also Polier loc. cit.; proposal is also missing in Han. Nat. Is there something earlier here?

Ref. **m.** (!): A similar thing happens III 52 and 54 after Rāv.'s battle with Jaṭāyus (v. 12 I **m.**).

III Sh. || Ro.: **a.** Names Martanja (مرتنج from Mārīca) and Takī(?), not Mahā loka and Pĕrjanggī (Prābū janggī) sūra. **b.** The attempted disturbance of the sacrifice is missing. **c.** The name *Tābah bās* (تابه بس) probably from *tānah Basrāh,* misspelled.

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[2] Others of different type in St. p. 97: Sī. withdrawn from Rāv.'s clutches: R.—Viṣṇu's wife may not fall into Rāv.'s hands (so also recently Printz, Festschr. Jacobi, p. 103f.).

12

RĀVAṆA AND JAṬĀYUS

III 49-56, Ro. p. 97-100, Sh. p. 85-87.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** Jaṭāyus the bird knows R. (v. however, 5 II **g.**). **b.** Warns Rāv. **c.** Battle. Rāv. wounded. **d.** Rāv. smashes Jaṭāyus' wings. **e.** Takes Sī. to Laṅkā.

II. Ro. || Vā. **a.** The form of the name Jĕntāyū (with the Indonesian n before the dental)[1]. **b.** Jaṭāyus not the king of the vultures and a friend of Daś. **c.** Sī does not demand him to inform R. of her abduction. **d.** He refers Rāv. to his covenant with Nabi Adam (v. I II **h.**) (not a general exhortation to virtue). **e.** Rāv.'s derisive answer. **f.** The battle lasts seven days and nights **g.** Magic fire, magic rain, boulders, trees and clubs (Rāv.) as weapons; Jaṭāyus overturns Rāv.'s chariot (Vā.: Rāv. shoots arrows at Jaṭāyus who destroys his chariot). **h.** In his rage, Rāv. makes his 10 heads and 20 arms appear. **i.** (!) Rāv.'s severed heads and arms grow again (Yuddhakāṇḍa). **k.** Dwelling-place of the soul;* Sī's warning in bird language (knowledge of this e.g. Kathās. 101, 49). **l.** Sī gives Jaṭāyus her ring. **m.** She does not throw down her dress and her jewels (v. 11 II **m.** (!)); missing are Rāv.'s effort to make Sī behoven to him and the description of how she is housed (v. 23 II **l.** (!)). **n.** Jaṭāyus' prayer to meet R. **n.** The two birds.

III Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The name Catāyu Kisūbrisu; his family tree. **b.** The battle lasts one day. **c.** Jaṭāyus shoots (!) at Rāv. (so he must be thought of in human form). **d.** The question about the dwelling place of the soul is missing; it is not described in detail. **e.** The handing over of the ring is missing.

Ref. **a.**: C.f. 2 II **t.** (!). Jatāyus here bears the name of his father (v. II **t.** (!)). As the teacher of all the maharṣis, his father Mahārisī Gūrū can surely be equated to the wise man of the Underworld Kaśyapa-Kīsūbrīsū. Jaṭāyus' brother Aran[2] as plunderer of the moon = Garuḍa; to judge by the name, perhaps the same as Garuḍa's elder brother Aruṇa (Mbh. I 20). Jaṭāyus' second brother Garūda dibūkit Ḳāf represents a Malayan mixture of Jaṭāyus' brother Sampāti, living on a mountain (v. 14 II **d.** (!)) and the giant bird Anḳā living on the mountain of Ḳāf. (Nicholson p. 73).

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[1] C.f., e.g. Mal. Bĕranta for Bharata.

13

THE ABDUCTION IS DISCOVERED

III 57-66, Ro. p. 100-102, Sh. p. 87-88, 92-94.

I. Ro = Vā.: **a.** R. has killed the wrong deer. **b.** Meets L. on the way back. **c.** Levels accusations at him; L. defends himself. **d.** The abduction is discovered. **e.** R. is downcast. **f.** Search for Sī.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** Long swoon (not elegiac despair) of R. **b.*** L.'s ascetic faithfulness. **c.** The retinue is sent to Sī.'s adoptive father. **d.*** The good and the bad bird (Vā.: these birds of the forest show R. the way to the south). **e.** The episode in which Sī.'s jewels are found (but v. III **c.**) and the location of the battle ground are missing.

Ref. **b.***: In Polier p. 318; L. abstains from food for twelve years and likewise from sleep and love. Fourteen years of this asceticism which allows L. to overcome Indrajit, in Sen p. 176ff. Origin of the conception: L. is without wife (Jàcobi p. 53) in the genuine part of the Rāmayaṇa and serves R. without reserve. In Hinduism under the influence of Bhakti[1] (abandoned love towards God) and the regard for immoderate penetential exercises, both probably changed to sexual asceticism, were then extended to other human needs (Polier); and made the reason for L.'s mightiest deed (Sen). Ro. agrees with Polier except in the span of 40 days which is Malayo-Islamic. Polier's twelve years are to be found in MSS Nr. 141 of the Bat. Gen. (Gerth van Wijk p. 410): L. is maltreated by R., because, as above, he goes to sleep in the audience chamber after twelve years of asceticism. C.f. Sen p. 179: L. falls asleep while holding the royal sunshade.

Ref. **d.**: For the reward of the heron c.f. Mbh. XII 112: A camel receives a very long neck for its asceticism from Brahman, so that it can search for food more easily. Later it causes its death. The heron as a helpful bird, Mbh. XII 168. The story of the evil bird is, as a counterpart, Indian as well. The appearance of the two birds has developed from an episode about the animals of the forest acting as guides. The choice of birds instead of other animals can possibly be ascribed to the influence of the bird Jaṭāyus.

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[1] Common in Hinduism; the Bengali origin of L.'s asceticism is therefore doubtful.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** L.'s asceticism is limited to sleep and food, and lasts four (not 40) days. **b.** (!) Vālin and the buffalo, Sugrīva's banishment (v. 15) **c.** R. and L. find the shreds of Sī.'s garment (c.f. III 64).

Ref. **a.** Is the abbreviated time of the asceticism Indonesian? C.f. L.'s refusal to marry (v. 28 III **f.***).

14

THE PRINCES AND JAṬĀYUS

III 67-68, Ro. 102-104, Sh. p. 94-95.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R. and L. find the dying bird. **b.** Its account. **c.** Death and burial by the brothers.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.*** Search for water with the arrow. **b.** Water tastes putrid, Jaṭāyus found (Vā.: during their journeyings the princes come to the scene of the battle). **c.*** Jaṭāyus completes his account (Vā.: dies while doing so), hands over Sī.'s ring. **d.** (!) His brother Sampāti. **e.*** Funeral pyre in R.'s arms (not simply a cremation): c.f. the feat of strength 18 I **c.***

Ref. **a.***: V. St. p. 98.

Ref. **c.***: Likewise Han. Nat. (Bengali recension) Act IV, v. 38-40.

Ref. **d.***: (!): IV 56-63. Ro. = Vā: 1. Flight near the sun. 2. Sampāti protects Jaṭāyus from its rays; his wings burned. 3. Lives on a mountain. 4. His food provided by relatives. 5. Is to be healed when R-Viṣṇu appears on earth and when he meets Han. (but v. 21 II **a.**). R. || Vā.: 1. Jaṭāyus tells R. the story (not Sampāti the ape in search of Sī.). 2. The name form Dasampānī. 3. Flight to the mountain of Ḳāf (not to the sun). 4. The sun (not the ṛṣi Niśākara) foretells the healing. 5. Dwelling place the mountain of Gandārawānam decided upon by the sun (Vā.: Sampāti drops down on the Vindhya) 6. Lives as an ascetic. 7. Jaṭāyus (not Sampāti's son Supārśva) provides for Sampāti. Ref. 2. Malayan mis-spelling. 'Da' probably an honorary prefix as in Kawi *Ḍamargga* 'great way'. Ref. 3. Ḳāf. The mountains at the perimeter of the world according Islamic conception here, instead of the sun (or the hollow mountain of another Indian version)? Ref. 4. C.f. the part played by the sun in Han.'s burning (8 II **o.** (!)).

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The handing over of Sī.'s ring is missing. **b.** The story of Sampāti likewise (but v. 12 III **a.**). **c.** Miraculous burning likewise.

15

THE VĀLIN AND THE BUFFALO

IV 9-10, Ro. p. 104-107, Sh. p. 88-92.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** The buffalo challenges V. **b.** Battle in the cave. **c.** Sugrīva thinks V. is dead (white and red blood: Vā.: foam and blood, v. III **d.**). **d.** He seals the cave and makes himself king. **f.** V. returns, ousts Su.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** Independent story (not told R. by Han.) **b.** Preliminary story of the buffalo. **c.** The buffalo not a daemon. **d.** Cave determined as battle ground (Vā.: the buffalo takes refuge from V. in it). **e.*** White or red blood as a sign of death. **f.*** Both flow from the cave (v. I **e.**) **g.** Su intends to marry V.'s wife. **h.** In a week V. returns. **i.** Casts Su. into the primaeval forest (does not drive him out). **k.** Su. an ascetic **l.** V. does not marry Su.'s wife.

Ref. **b.** Duplicated form of the story of the buffalo.

Ref. **e.***-**f.***: C.f. V. as Jainist holy man (7 II **a.***-**q.***)? The Tīrthamkaras[1] of the Jainas have white blood (v. Glasenapp, Jainism, p. 252).

Ref. **l.***: Does this fit in with V.'s vindication before R. (19 II **d.**)?

III. Sh.|| Ro.: **a.** Recounted before the meeting with Jaṭāyus. **b.** Fuller account; lesser differences. **c.** The story of Sultan Abd-el-malik and his sons (Islamic!). **d.** Foam (= Vā.) comes from the buffalo's mouth, Su. thinks it is V.'s blood. **e.** Su. falls into the tamarind tree.

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[1] To which V., however does not belong.

16

ENCOUNTER WITH HANUMAT

IV 1-8, Ro. p. 107-109.

I. Ro. = Vā.: Does the encounter take place shortly before the meeting with Sugrīva?

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** R.'s and L.'s experiences after the burial of Jaṭāyus (III 69-75) are missing (but v. 17 II **c.** **b.** The encounter does not lead to one with Sugrīva. **c.** Han. intends to seek his fatḥer Sang Pĕrdāna's advice (c.f. 8. II **o.** (!)). **d.*** Han. in the tamarind tree (v. 7 II **o.***) sees L. watching over R.'s slumbers (does not visit R. and L. on the bank of the Pampā). **e.*** He throws leaves and twigs at L. **f.*** Inspite of L.'s resistance he steals R.'s arrows. **g.** L. wakes R. tells him what has happened. **h.** R. requires L. to return home. **i.** L.'s prayer;* the tree shrinks; Han. becomes visible. **k.*** R. recognizes his son from the ear-rings. **l.** Han. wishes to follow him; R. sends him to Vālin. **m.** Han. is V.'s not Sugrīva's retainer. **e.-m.**: Vā.: Han. takes R. and L. to Sugrīva.)

Ref. **d.*-e.***: C.f. Padmapurāṇa, Pātālakāṇda 112: R. and L. rest under a tree[1], L. has R.'s head in his lap. Han. assuming tiny stature (as so often in the H. S. R., v. e.g. 22 II **b.**) throws down fruits and garlands of flowers from the tree (?) on L. (in order to bid him welcome !).

Ref. **e.*-f.***: Battle between L. and Han.: L. wants to fetch fruits and roots for R. from Śiva's garden; Śiva's gatekeeper (v. II **o.** (!)). Han. challenges him; neitḥer can gain the upper hand (as a preliminary to the battle between Śiva and R. Sen p. 47). Polier p. 336f.: Sugrīva owner of the garden, Han. the incarnation of Śiva (v. 8 II **o.** (!)), defeated by L., the battle between Śiva and R. is missing[2]. Ro. originated from the situation of the Padmapurāṇa combined with the battle motif just mentioned?

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[1] The description is not very clear on account of its brevity.

Ref. **i.***: Aetiological saga. C.f. 3 III **c.** (!).

Ref. **k.***: In the Padmapurāṇa also (v. **d.***-**e.***) Han. is *kuṇḍalin* ('provided with ear-rings'). Hence probably the conception in the H.S.R.

III. Sh. || Ro.: C.f. 21 II **k.*** and III **e.**

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[2] Both incorporated into the Rāma saga from the Mbh. III 146-147: Conflict between Bhīma, who wants to fetch lotus flowers for Draupadī and Han., the two sons of the wind god?

17

ENCOUNTER WITH SUGRĪVA

IV 9-10, Ro. 109-112, Sh. p. 95-98.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R. and L. meet Su. **b.** He relates his story **c.** A pact made.

I. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** The encounter not brought about by the one with Han. **b.*** Search for water with the arrow (v. 14 II **a.***). **c.** Encounter with the fish-eating rākṣasa; he directs R. and L. along the path to the right (c.f. III 73, the rākṣasa Kabandha, who directs them to Su., v. 16 II **a.**). **d.*** Search for water once again. **e.** Bath in a pool conjured up before them. **f.** Su in the primaeval forest (not on the Ṛsyamukha). **g.** Lies to R. **h.** (!) Off to battle against Vālin (IV 12 after the trial of strength).

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The bath in the pool is missing. **b.** Su. in the tamarind tree (not at the place of his asceticism, v. II **f.**). **c.** Sees L. watching over R.'s sleep (c.f. 16 II **d.***). **d.*** Weeps at L.'s brotherly love (c.f. 20 II **k.***; by any chance in contrast to the enmity between Vālin and Su.?), wakes R. **e.** He requires L. to return home (c.f. 16 II **h.**). **f.** L.'s prayer;* the tree acquires pinnate leaves (c.f. 16 II **i.***). The relationship of the episode to 16 is not clear.

18

RAMA'S TRIALS OF STRENGTH

IV 11-12, Ro. p. 112-114, Sh. p. 98-100.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** Su. wishes to put R.'s strength to the test. **b.** R. fells seven trees with the arrow which returns to R. of its own accord. **c.** Hurls a gigantic corpse into the sea with his big toe.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** The trials of strength take place during the campaign against Vālin (not before it on the Ṛṣyamukha) **b.*** R. knows Su.'s intentions (v. 3 II **r.***). **c.*** R. fells a whole forest; (!) L. and Su. swoon. **d.** Trees on the back of a serpent. **e.*** R. thinks the corpse is a mountain. **f.** (!) Corpse of Katī bihāra (not Dundubhi); his deeds.

Ref. **c.***: Exaggerated duplicated form to I **b.** (!): Similarly I 67.

Ref. **e.***: C.f. Anargharāghava Act V. v. 24-25: L. has killed the Kabandha; R. sees a gigantic mass flying through the air and asks his companion Guha whether this is a mountain thrown at L. by the daemon. Guha explains that L. has cast away the corpse of Dundubhi who has been killed by Vālin.

Ref. **f.** (!): Katī bihāra (کتي بهار) from (Arjuna) Kārttavīrya (کارتويری c.f. the spelling of the name III **c.**), VII 32 king (not rākṣasa) and vanquisher of Rāv., dams the waters of the Narmadā with his 1000 arms and bathes in it with his wives.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** Missing R.'s knowledge of Su.'s plan, the felling of the forest. **b.** Mistakes corpse for the mountain, likewise. **c.** The name of the daemon Kāta bicāra (کات بچار , v. II **f.** (!)).

19

VĀLIN'S DEATH

IV 12-26, Ro. p. 114-117, Sh. p. 100-102.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** Sugrīva challenges V. V. has a premonition that Su. has a mighty helper (v. II **a.**). **b.** Su. is defeated and flees to R.; accused of breaking the treaty. **c.** R.'s pardon: similarity of the brothers. **d.** Root (Vā.: plant) as Su.'s emblem. **e.** V. is challenged for the second time **f.** R. ambushes him and brings him low. **g.** Accuses him: He would have been a better helper to R. than Su. **h.** Entrusts his family to R. (his son Aṅgada!) **i.** Death and cremation.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** V.'s awareness (Vā.: his wife's on the occasion of the second challenge) of Su.'s mighty ally. **b.** Second characteristic of Su.: an anus coloured red. **c.*** V. catches R.'s arrow. **d.** Vindicates himself. **e.** R. wishes to prevent V.'s death; his arrow (which comes from Viṣṇu's arrow, as R. himself from Viṣṇu) must find its mark **f.** V. lives as long as he holds R.'s hand (Vā.: as long as he wears Indra's golden wreath). **g.*** A glow rises up to the heavens from his body. **h.** V. has two sons (not one). **i.** Scenes of woe over the dead body and Su.'s dedication as king are missing (v. 21 III **c.** (!)). **k.*** R. rules in the city of the apes (does not live in a cave outside the city). **l.** The warrior apes already mentioned at this juncture (v. 21 I **f.**).

Ref. **c.*-e.***: R.-Viṣṇu cannot commit murder. Same underlying concept in Anargharāghava Act V p. 219: Duel at a definite place, perhaps St. too p. 98: Without the preliminary bout between V. and Su., R. kills V. on account of his bragging R. a descendant of Viṣṇu, v. 2 II **z.** (!). Is the original (*asal* 'descent') of R.'s arrow conceived in human terms (v. 3 II **d.*** for its human characteristics), as R.'s descent from Viṣṇu?

Ref. **g.***: Very similarly in Karṇa's death Mbh. VII 91.

Ref. **k.***: In the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa (Rice p. 44) R. goes to the city with Su. C.f. on the other hand the keeping of the oath of forest life in Vā.!

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** V. iṣ aware of a great warrior (not helper of his brother). **b.** Second characteristic of Su. is missing.

20

RAMA VISITED BY HIS BROTHERS

II 82-114, Ro. p. 117-120, Sh. 103-106.

I. Ro. = Vā:; **a.** Bhar. visits R. **b.** R. is to take over the government but he refuses. **c.** Gives his sandals as well. **d.** Exhorts him to rule well. **e.** Bhar. returns.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** The visit takes place after the death of R.'s mother in the city of the apes (not after Daś.'s death on the Citrakūṭa, v. III **a.**, 4 II II **t.**, 5 II **c.**). **b.** Purosta Maharīsī advised this. **c.** Śatr. accompanies Bhar. **d.** The adventures on the journey are missing. **e.** R. and L. with their retinue catch the others up. **f.** The long discussions between R. Bhar. are missing. **g.** R. does not wish to return to the realm which has been promised to his brothers (Vā.: He promises to take over the government when the period of banishment is at an end). **h.** Bhar. and Śatr. attach R.'s sandals to their diadems (Vā.: Bhar. places them on the throne in Ayodhyā). **i.** R. and L. accompany them on their way back. **k.*** Su. is moved by the affection shown between the brothers v. 17 III **d.***). **l.** Bhar. lives in Nandigrāma as an ascetic).

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** Daś. (not R.'s mother) dies (c.f. Vā.). **b.** Purosta Maharīsī's advice is missing. **c.** The accompanying of those returning home and Su.'s emotion likewise.

21

ASSEMBLING THE ARMY OF THE APES

VI 27-44, Ro. p. 120-130, Sh. p. 106-110.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R. impatiently awaits Su.'s help. **b.** Sends L. to him. **c.** Su. apologizes to R. for his hesitancy. **d.** *lāut* 'sea' as high number (in the Sambūrāna episode): c.f. *samudra* 'sea' with the same meaning IV 28, 31-32. **e.** The army of the apes is assembled **f.** Some of the names of the warrior apes. **g.** An ape-people is living in the east[1] (c.f. IV 37, the *udaya-giri-vāsinaḥ* 'those living on the mountain of the ascent'). **h.** Su. comes to R. with his army. **i.** R. remains outside the city (but v. 19 II **k.***). **k.** Han. is to establish Sī.'s fate. **l.** Is given L.'s ring as a mark of identification.

Ref. **f.**: Patih (Mala 'minister counsellor') Jambuwāna = Jāmbavat (king of the bears IV 39-26), Nīla Anggāda = Nīla (IV 39, 22) and Angada (IV 39, 30), Sang Durmūla or Durmūka = Durmukha (IV 39, 33), Indrā from Indrajānu (IV 39, 31)? (c.f. III **f.**) S. Nāla = Nala (IV 39, 35), S. Kĕmĕndah[2] from Kumuda (IV 39, 37)? S. Panāsa = Panasa (IV 39, 21).

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** L.'s emissaries more briefly described. **b.** Su. hesitates for fear of Sambūrāna (not because she forgets her duties). **c.** Han. (not Su.) accompanies L. to R. (his appearance), Su. arrives a week later with the army. **d.*** Sambūrāna is subjected (* Viṣṇu's identifiable characteristics). **e.** R. resides on the mountain of Gandarāwānam **f.** Jāmbavat, ape and * council (v. I **f.** not king of the bears). **g.** Partly other names for the warrior-apes. **h.** Jāmbavat ascertains Sī.'s condition astrologically. **i.** (!) No ape dares to jump to Laṅkā. **k.*** R. asks for Han. **l.** The latter appears as a dirty little ape. **m.** He wants to partake of food from one leaf with R., before undertaking the jump. **n.** Bath in the Sūlu Sea;* he brings precious things to R. **o.*** L. divides the pisang leaf. **p.** R. and Han. eat together. **q.** Reconnaissance troops not despatched to the four regions of the world, Han.'s adventures before the jump are missing.

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[1] *di matahārī hīdup* Ro. p. 127

[2] with Indonesian 'n' before a dental.

Ref. **d.***: Continuation of the story of Sambūrāna's youth (v. 8 II **l.***). * Viṣṇu's characteristics: on the Coromandel Coast R. is represented with bows in one hand and a lotus flower in the other (Sonnerat I p. 164 and plate 41). Can *tongkat* 'staff', St. note 186 ('club') and *būnga wijāya* ('Vijāya flower', as in St. note 186, or victory-flower referring to Skr. *vijaya* 'victory'?) be the equivalents of these objects?

Ref. **f.***: C.f. Jāmbavat as wise counsellor Setubandha IV, 17ff.

Ref. **i.** (!): C.f. IV 66 the apes accompany Han. tell of their jumping power.

Ref. **k.***: Contradiction of the other two encounters with Han. (v. II **e.** and 16). C.f. the Jainist Rāma saga. R. meets him in Kiṣkindhā, shortly before Han.'s departure for Laṅkā (J. R. VI, 217 ff.).

Ref. **l.**: Is this intended to symbolize Han.'s immoderate modesty, mentioned by Jāmbavat in VI 66? C.f. what is said concerning the shooting stars which tumble out of Han.'s mouth when he speaks (v. 8 II **o.** (!)).

Ref. **n.***: Sūlū-Sea: the saga is located in Indonesia[3]. * Han. brings precious things: the sea is a source of treasures. C.f. definitions like *ratnākara* 'mine of treasures' for the sea.

Ref. **o.***: For the division of the pīsang leaf c.f. 3 III **c.** (!).

Ref. **q.***: Also missing in Polier p. 348. This is probably the original (Jacobi p. 37f.).

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The episode about Sambūrāna is missing. **b.** Other ape-warriors of Vā. named. **c.** (!) Sugrīva dedicated king (v. 19 II **i.** **d.** Astrological assessment of Sī.'s fate is missing. **e.** R. and Han. see each other for the first time (v. II **k.***). **f.** (!) The story of Han.'s youth (IV 66 told by Jāmbavat before Han.'s jump to Laṅkā!). **g.** The Sūlū-Sea is not named, division of the pīsang leaf is missing.

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[3] The only case of this sort in the H. S. R.

Ref. **b.** Sang Indra jānu = Indrajānu (IV 39, 31, v. I. **f.**), S. Dimūla (?) from Durmukha (v. I **f.**), S. Sukasyārī (?) from Kesarin (IV 39, 18) + Sukeśa (rākṣasa VII 5? C.f. Subali for Vālin S t. p. 73), S. Sarāba = Śaraba (IV 39, 37), S. Patāsa from Panasa (v. I **f.**), S. Satawāni (ستوانی) from Śatabali (IV 39, 14 approx. (ستبلی), S. Minda from Mainda (IV 39, 26): c.f. Juynboll p. 525.

22

HANUMAT IN LAṄKĀ

Book V, Ro. p. 130-136, Sh. p. 110-117.

I. Ro=Vā.: **a.** Han. jumps over the ocean. **b.** He finds Sī. **c.** Hands over R.'s sign of identification. **d.** Reports on R. **e.** He desecrates a grove. **f.** Is taken prisoner and brought before Rāv. **g.** Vi. warns that he should not be killed (v. II **o.***). **h.** Han is to be punished by burning. **i.** Reduces Laṅkā to ashes. **k.** Wishes to carry Sī. to R. **l.** Sī. refuses for reasons of chastity. (**i.-k.** v. II **s.**). **m.** He jumps back. **n.** Hands over Sī.'s sign of identification. **o.** R.'s joy.

II. Ṛo. || Vā.: **a.** There is no place which can withstand Han.'s jump. **b.*** As a tiny ape he propels himself from R.'s arm (not from the mountain of Mahendra on the coast) (v. 21 II **q.***). **c.*** During the jump he loses his sperm which is swallowed up by the king of the fish (Vā.: survives adventures with the mountain of Maināka and two female daemons). **d.** Comes to earth at the house of a maharsi. **e.** Is provided for in a miraculous manner and is given a guide to Laṅkā (**d.-e**: Vā: Han. looks around Trikūṭa and vanquishes the goddess of Laṅkā). **f.** Han. as brahmin at the well, R.'s ring in Sī.'s bath water (Vā.: he examines R.'s palace closely, destroys an aśoka grove and observes Rāv.'s efforts to win Sī.). **g.*** Milk comes forth from Sī.'s breasts; she recognizes Han. as her son. **h.*** She gives him mangoes to eat (**g.-h.** Vā.: Han. hands over R.'s ring, wants to bear Sī. back (vide supra I **b, i.**). **i.*** Sī directs Han. to the mango trees. **k.** He wins the confidence of their guards. **l.** Is taken prisoner without resistance (**i.***-**l.*** Vā.: as a challenge he destroys an aśoka grove, overcomes the rākṣasa armies and is taken prisoner by Indrajit). **m.*** He uses his tail as a throne (does not proclaim himself to be R.'s emissary). **n.** Is to be killed (not just maimed as Vi. advises). **o.*** Vi. warns that the killing of the little ape (not the emissary) will bring misfortune. **p.** The difficulties of carrying out the punishment. **q.*** After the burning of Laṅkā, Han. bathes in the Sea of Ḳulzum (*lāut ḳulzum*). **r.*** Laṅkā is raised from the ashes by a maharṣi. **s.** Han. a second time with Sī. (v. I **k.**). **t.** Is to make the return jump from the black cliff on the mountain of thunder. **u.** He jumps from this one (not from a mountain which sinks into the Underworld). **v.** His adventures after the return jump are missing. **w.** Han. hands over the precious stone casket (not Sī.'s cūḍāmaṇi). **x.** Is rebuked for the destruction of Laṅkā.

Ref. **a.** C.f. the sinking of the mountain into the Underworld in Vā. (v. II **u.**).

Ref. **b.***: Han. jumps from R.'s arm: C.f. R.'s feat of strength 18 I. **c.** For Han.'s metamorphosis v. St. p. 98.

Ref. **c.***: 25 II **i.***: Han. does battle with his son in the Underworld. Gujarat Rāma saga: Han. wipes off the sweat in the sea when he has burned down Laṅkā. A female crocodile (*makarī*) swallows him and gives birth to Han.'s son Makaradhvaja[1], who later guards over the Underworld for Ahī-Rāvaṇa Narmakathākosh p. 223). (Other Indian parallels v. St. p. 98). In Ro. sperm instead of sweat.: c.f. Mbh. I 63 the saga of King Uparicara. The name of Han.'s double, Han. Tūganggah is inexplicable. The connection which St. makes on p. 98 between the name of the fish queen, Ro. p. 150 Jandānā, and Machhandarnāth, the name of Han.'s son in the Punjab, is possible.

Ref. **f.***: Han.'s guise as a brahmin: c.f. IV 2ff.: Han. appears as a mendicant monk before R. and L. The sojourn at the well similar during Han.'s search for R. and L. in the Underworld in Sen p. 237f. (v. 25 II **i.***): Han. overhears those visiting the well.

Ref. **g.***: Similarly Daśacumāracarita (Hertel, II, p. 10) when nurse and the boy meet.

Ref. **h.*-i.***: Polier p. 559: Sī. allows Han., who has not tasted of any pleasures since his jump from Laṅkā, to eat of the fruit on the trees in the garden, which he later destroys.

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[1] Elsewhere a name of Kāma, the god of love.

Ref. **m.***: For the lengthening of Han.'s tale c.f. 25 III **b.***

Ref. **o.***: C.f. the interpretation of Han.'s appearance in the Underworld as an evil omen Sen p. 274 (vide supra **f.***).

Ref. **q.***: V. supra **c.*** *lāut ḳulzum* = Arabic *bahru'lḳulzum* the Red Sea (Dieterici p. 133).

Ref. **r.***: The reaction of Laṅkā is to clear away the contradiction in Vā. between the burning of the city and its later state of preservation, which Jacobi p. 34f. has referred to.

Ref. **s.**: Is this connected with the repetition of the farewell conversation between Sī. and Han.? V. 39 in V 36, (*Jacobi* p. 177).

Ref. **t.**: Black rock as place of Adam's descent, Islamic.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** Ṭhe loss of sperm is missing. But v. 25 II **i.***: the youth of Han.'s son. **b.*** Han. jumps too far (as in Polier p. 350). **c.** The motif of the breast which gives milk is missing. **d.** The miraculous lengthening of the tail likewise (but v. 25 III **b.***). **e.** Sī.'s lodging is not burned (c.f. V. 55: Signs and divine beings assure Han. that Sī. will be safe.). **f.** The recreation of the city is missing. **g.** Han. does not hand over Si.'s sign to R.

23

CONSTRUCTING THE CAUSEWAY

VI 1-34, Ro. p. 136-144, Sh. p. 117-155.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R. does not know how his army can be taken to Laṅkā. **b.** A warrior-ape advises the building of a causeway. **c.** The army marches to the sea. **d.** The apes build the causeway with boulders and trees. **e.** R. threatens the sea with his weapon (v. II **i.**). **f.** In vain Rāv. tries to give the appearance of Sī.'s death: (!) Comparison of the field of battle with a sea: *rūpaka,* c.f. e.g. VI 58, 29-33). **g.** A rākṣasi helps Sī. (**f.-g**: v. II **l.** (!) **-q.**). **h.** Rāv.'s spy Sukasarāna as an ape in R.'s army (v. II **r.**) **i.** His report. **k.** Rāv.'s anger. **m.** The army marches to Laṅkā. **n.** R. rides on Han. (VI 22, 77 Sugrīva exhorts him to do so). **m.** The rakṣasas confer. **n.** Vi. advises Rāv. to return Sī. **o.** Rāv.'s anger. **p.** Vi. defects to R.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** Han. (not Su.) advises the construction of a causeway. **b.** Han. does not describe the strength of Laṅkā. **c.** Two warrior-apes are to look for the place to build a causeway. **d.** The maharṣi in the wonder garden. **e.*** The rākṣasa kings are subjugated **f.** The rākṣasa espionage before the construction of the causeway is missing (v. **r.**). **g.** The sea-god does not appear as counsellor. (v. **i.**). Han. (not Nala) directs operations. **i.** R. threatens the deep patch in the sea with his arrow; the virgin with the water of life (Vā.: the god of the sea) appears. **k.** Rāv. tries his work of deception during the construction of the causeway (not after the army has crossed it). **l.** (!) Details about the way in which Sī. is housed. Rāv. brings Sī. the heads of two divine princes (not a magic mirage of R.'s head and blow); L.

too, is supposed to be dead. **n.** Sī.'s helper is Vi.'s daughter Srī jātī (not his wife Saramā). **o.** She outwits Rāv. by her cunning. **p.*** Seeks out Ṛ. (VI 34 Saramā offers her services to do this) and is brought back by Han. **q.** Rāv. is going to kill her; Sī. placed in captivity. **r.** One spy (not two) (v. **f.**). **s.** His capture and liberation by R. missing (v. III **h.**). **t.** The causeway is destroyed. **u.*** R. is to destroy Rāv.'s offering to Brahman (* Visnu greater than Brahman!). **v.** Han.'s appearance as mount. **w.** Rākşasas confer after R. has crossed (not before the construction of the causeway). **x.*** Kumbhakarṁa and Indrajit are not present. *Indrajit's dispute with Vi. is missing. **y.** Vi. takes flight in the evening (not immediately after the dispute) with his family (not with four rākşasas). **z.** The deliberations about the acceptance of Vi. and his dedication as king are missing.

Ref. **a.,h.** Is the predominating position of Han. relative to the other apes, the result of the greater importance attached to him in later times? V. also Han., not Aṅgada, as emissary (25 II **b.**).

Ref. **e.***: Jainist Rāma saga: In battle Nala and Nila capture the two kings Samudra ('Ocean') and Setu ('Bridge') (Jainist-rationalist re-casting of the subjugation of the ocean by the construction of the causeway). Further, R. overcomes (himself? the story is kept very brief, v. infra) the kings Suvela (VI 37ff. name of a mountain near Laṅkā) and Haṃsaratha (J. R. VII, 6-13). R. || J.R.: 1. Battle takes place before (not after) the crossing to Laṅkā. 2. Aṅgada (not Nala) the companion of Nila (c.f. 21 I **f.**). 3. Demand of submission. 4. R. does not partake in the battle (v. supra) 5. Six (not four) kings. 6. Their names and the names of their kingdoms (Sūra nāla (سور نال) probably from Suvela (سويل): Jāya sīnga = Jayasiṃha 'triumphal lion', Bĕrma kuwāsa (برم كواس) from Brahmaghoṣa (approx. برمݣوش or برم ݣوش)?, Madu sīlan (مدسيلن) from Madhusūdana (v. III **c.**): change of name due to the incorporation of the story into the common Indian Rama saga? 7. They are rākşasas, not vidyādharas (for the reason given in 6.). 8. They are overcome together (not separately), two kings surrender. 9. R. has the prisoners captured in battle killed, gives their kingdoms to Nīla Anggāda (does not confirm them in their kingdom); L. does not marry the daughters of Samudra (v. III **d.***).

Ref. **f.**: This the more original form? For the probable spuriousness of the espionage episodes (v. supra **r.-s.**) Jacobi p. 44.

Ref. **g.-i.**: With regard to this, probably VI 22, 32-36; The magic arrow shot by R. after the appearance of the sea-god (for the nature of the arrow v. 19 II **e.***) penetrates down into the Underworld from which water gushes forth out of a spring which arose at the point of entry. The water of life: *ayĕr Ma'ulhayyāt*: Arab.-Mal. for Ind. *amṛta,* which was later considered to be in the Underworld (Vet. Pañc. ed. Uhle p. 42).

Ref. **l.** (!): C.f. the details III 56.

Ref. **n.**: Srī jātī from Trijaṭā, VI 48 name of the rākṣasī who tells Sī. that R. and L. are still alive but are bound by the magic of Indrajit's arrow. (Same rôle as Saramā!).

Ref. **r.**: One, instead of two spies: fusion probably of Indonesian origin, of two closely connected personages in one (c.f. 10 II **b.**).

Ref. **u.***: Cf. St p. 98. Jāmbavat's assertion that Viṣṇu is greater than Brahman is quite in accordance with Viṣṇuitic ideas.

Ref. **x.***: At this time Kumbhakarṇa must still be asleep (his appearance at the council in Vā. contradicts his awakening shortly afterwards). The dispute between Indrajit and Vi. is unexpected, considering Indrajit's noble character (v. 1 II **o.***).

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The army of apes is called together again. **b.** The dispatch of the two warrior-apes and the defeat of the rākṣasa kings are described in greater detail (Han. wishes to conquer Laṅkā alone with R.: c.f. VI 3; in Han.'s opinion Laṅkā can be taken by the apes alone.). **c.** Other forms of the names of the apes and rākṣasa kings (Bĕrma gosa (?) = Brahmaghoṣa, Māna sadāna (مان سدان)?, Madasadāna

مَدَسَدانَ) or Madasudāna (مَدَسُدان) = Madhusūdana, Kṛṣṇa's additional name). **d.*** Anīla Anggāda marry the royal daughters. **e.*** Builder of the causeway Nūla Nīla (not Han.); dispute during the building of the bridge. **f.** Rāv.'s deceit is described in greater detail. **g.** Rāv.'s spy is called Sagadasāna (سگدسان from سکسران). **h.** Is captured and set free by R. (VI 25 v II **s.**) **i.** Exact report on R.'s army (* the number of R.'s warriors). **k.** Conference before the march to Laṅkā. **l.** Rāv.'s offering for Brahman not mentioned. **m.** R. does not ride on Han. **n.*** Vi. is turned out of the palace by force. **o.** The names of his wife and sons mentioned. **p.** The reception he receives from R. is described more fully.

Ref. **d.*** This is probably the result of the conception of L. as an ascetic (v. 13 II **b.*** and 28 III **f.***).

Ref. **e.***: C.f. Sen p. 90. The concept of politeness which underlies the story is known elsewhere in India (Gujurat according to Mr. Tavadia). (C.f. also the honours paid to the King of Māro by Alhā and his companions Waterfield p. 96). The Bengali origin of the story supposed by Sen is therefore not certain. Sh. || Sen: Nūla Nīla (not Nala) insults Han; R. settles the dispute. Nūla = Nola, name of a warrior-ape, Ravenshaw p. 1125; Nīla v. supra II **e.*** and Polier, who also names Nal apart from Nil as builder of the causeway? Settlement of the dispute: end of the story, probably missed in Sen's short note.

Ref. **i.***: Concerning the number of R.'s eight main and 33 other warriors c.f. those of the eight Vasu gods and 33 Trayastṛṃśat–) gods (Hopkins, p. 170), which are arrayed in the divine hierarchy under Viṣṇu Brahman and Śiva. Apparently these gods have been incarnated as R.'s helpers (c.f. I 17: gods create the best warrior-apes), if it is not a simple sing (v. III **e.***). 5. The abductor comes in Han.'s (not matter of the influence exerted by the numbers.

Ref. **n.***: Rāv. gives Vi. a kick Prasannarāghava Act VII v. 4., likewise in the Bengali Rāma saga (Sen p. 255). Rāv. maltreats Vi. (without details) Polier p. 269.

24

THE BATTLE FOR LAṄKĀ I: TO THE DEATH OF KUMBHAKARṆA

VI 35-68, Ro. p. 144-146, Sh. p. 155-165.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** The rākṣasas are overcome (v. II **b.**). **b.** Kumbhakarṇa is woken with difficulty. **c.** He warns Rāv. **d.** Does battle with the army of the apes. **e.** It suffers heavy losses. **f.** R. shoots off Kumbhakarṇa's head. **g.** Rāv.'s mourning.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** (!) The army of rākṣasas is drawn up (VI 32 Rāv. orders it);* Indrajit advises him to return Sī. (his noble character v. 1 II **o.***). **b.** R.'s eight warriors overcome ten rākṣasa generals and their army (**a.** (!) **b.**: Vā. Aṅgada's mission, v. 25 II **a.-d.** first engagement of Indrajit, v. 25 III **q.**, and of Rāv. v. **h.**, and many other battles). **c.** Kumbhakarṇa appears for the first time (not beforehand in the council VI 12; v. 23 II **x.***). **d.** After unsuccessful attempts by rākṣasas and court ladies he can only be awakened by pulling out the hairs of his feet. **e.** Vi. does not tell R. about his addiction to sleep. **f.** Kumbhakarṇa advises that Sī. should be returned (makes no reference to the exhortation to do so in the council). **g.** The conversation with Mahodara is missing. **h.** Rāv. accompanies him into battle. (c.f. 26 II **k.**). **i.** It lasts three days (not one day). Kumbhakarṇa's weapon is the club (not the javelin). **k.** Sugrīva does not maim his nose and ears (v. III **c.**). **l.** R. only shoots off his head (not separate limbs to begin with). **m.** R. slays his deputy generals and numerous troops. **n.** Forty day lull in the battle.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** Indrajit's championing of Sī.'s cause and the defeat of the rakṣasa warriors are described in greater detail. **b.** The episodes concerning Kumbhakarṇa likewise. **c.** Kumbhakarṇa has his ears boxed by Anīla Anggāda (v. II **k.**).

25

THE BATTLE FOR LAṄKĀ II: TO THE DEATH OF INDRAJIT

VI 69-92, Ro. p. 146-159, Sh. p. 165-218.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R.'s emissary with Rāv. **b.** Indrajit kills a magic image of Sī. R. despairs and swoons. **d.** L.'s anger. **e.** V. calms R. and L. **f.** News of Indrajit's sacrifice is received. **g.** An army under L. and Han. sent against him. **h.** The sacrifice is destroyed and Indrajit's army is defeated. **i.** Battle between L. and I. **k.** L. kills I.'s charioteer. **l.** Indrajit falls. **m.** Rāv.'s grief.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** The time the emissary was sent: after the death of Kumbhakarṇa (not before the commencement of hostilities). **b.** Han. (not Aṅgada) is R.'s emissary. **c.** Rāv. demands that L. be delivered to him. **d.** Han. refuses, returns unmolested to R. (Vā.: attempt to take Aṅgada prisoner). **e.*** The death of Rāv.'s son Bīlā bīsa. **f.** Han. destroys Rāv.'s sunshade. **g.** Jāmbavat and Han. defeat the rākṣasas. **h.** Rāv.'s retinue several times supports the return of Sī. **i.*** R. abducted to the Underworld; Han. frees him. **k.** The death of Rāv.'s younger sons is missing (v. II **b.**) **l.** Indrajit's battle with R. and L. before the sacrifice likewise (v. III **q.-u.**). **m.** Rāv instigates the killing of the wrong Sī.; this happens in Laṅkā not on the field of battle). **n.** Vi. consoles R. and L. (does not enlighten them); Sugrīva's dream. **o.*** Han. with Sī. **p.** Han. (not Vi.) reports on Indrajit's sacrifice (without mentioning its purpose, v. III **w.**); Vi. does not accompany L. and Han. (c.f. III **w.**). the name of the place of sacrifice is missing (v. III **w.**). **q.** The apes disturb the sacrifice (Vā. the defeat of the rākṣasas forces Indrajit to do battle). **r.** The dispute between Indrajit and Vi. is missing (v. III **w.**). **s.** Indrajit in the Kĕindrāan (Vā.: return to the city, v. III **y.**). **t.** He and L. do not do battle with divine weapons

(v. III **w.**). **u.** R. (not L.) kills him. **v.** Rāv. bewails him on the field of battle (not in the palace). **w.** Indrajit's wife declared Rāv. to be the cause of all misfortune; Rāv. wishes to put her (not Sī., v. III **z.**) to death. **x.*** She seeks her own death in the flames with Indrajit. **y.** Forty-day lull in the battle.

Ref. **e.***: C.f. the Bhasmalocana ('ash-eye') of the Bengali Rāma saga (Sen p. 68 short note without details[1]). Bīlā bīsa (بيلابيس) probably from Bhasmalocana (approx. بسملوچن or بسملچن). The origination of the Malay from the Bengali story must be considered to be in doubt as there is inadequate material for comparison (v. supra).

Ref. **i.***: See Mahī Rāvaṇer Pālā Sen p. 254-283. **Ro.** = Sen. 1. Rāv. is at his wits' end. 2. His son Patāla Maharāyan (v. 1 II **o.***) intends to abduct R.[1] 3. Manages to gain access into R.'s palace disguised as one of R's own warriors. 4. Lulls the guards and R. to sleep and takes R. off to the Underworld. 5 He wishes to sacrifice him (name of the god[2]) سدمنى , in Sh. بندمينّى , read چندى or چامندى Caṇḍī or Cāmuṇḍa (-i ?), names of the Kālī (Bhandarkar p. 143ff)? 6. Han. discovers the abduction and hastes to the Underworld. 7. At the pool (Sen. at the well) he hears news of R. 8. Fetches him from his dungeon cell. 9. Does battle with the rākṣasas; return to the camp. The abductor is put to death. Ro. || Sen: 1. Time of the abduction: Before Indrajit goes to battle (not after L.'s cure of the wound from Rāv.'s lance, v. 26 I **b.-e.**) v. infra 1). 2. Rāv.'s son is present in Laṅkā (Sen: At his mother's advice Rāv. calls him by magic means and lies to him about the reason for his dispute with R.) 3. Vi. does not warn R. about him. 4. The precautionary measures taken by the warrior apes are missing (v. III **e.***). 5. The abductor comes in Han.'s (not inter alia in v.'s guise, v. III **h.***). 6, Abducts R. (without L.) (v. infra 1.). 7. The magic path into the Underworld is not mentioned (v. III **i***). 8. Han. not indebted to Vi. for aid (Han.'s not Vi.'s form!). 9. Han. converses with the princess at the pool (does not listen to the conversation of the water carrier at the well in the guise of a small ape) (v. infra). 10. Does battle with his son (v. infra). 11. Does not visit R. and L. in their prison cell. 12. The abductor falls by R.'s hand before Laṇkā (Sen: Han. takes Kālī's advice and slays him during his attempt to sacrifice R. and L.; his wife goes to battle). 13. His subjects submit to R. Ref. 1. Similarly Han. Nāt. Act IX or XI of the Bengali or western revised version: The attempt on R.'s life begins the battle for Laṅkā, if the episode in question is really supposed to precede the abduction.[3] Ref. 5. Changes only to Vi. Polier p. 382ff. Intermediary stage between Han. Nāt. and Sen or careless narration. Ref. 9. Princess instead of servant, raising of status as in the abduction story[4]. Ref. 11. Battle between father and son part of the Gujurati version of the abduction story?[5] There also Han.'s son is guardian of the Underworld, v. 22 II **c.***). The feature (v. supra and III) is not the only one which casts doubt on the Bengali origin of the Malay version.

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[1] Has the conception of Śiva's third eye, which burns Kāma, played a part in the creation of this figure? (Rāv. is looked upon as one of Śiva's admirers!)

[2] C.f. p. 75 note 1, p. 76 note 3.

Ref. **m.***: Is the putting to death of the wrong Sī. in the city at Rāv.'s command to exonerate Indrajit from blame? (His noble character!).

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[3] In Tulsī Dās the abductor is called Ahi-Rāv. 'Snake-Rāv.' (Bombay edition p. 7; the episode is missing in the Lakhnau edition which is considered the more reliable). V. also note 3.

[4] A rākṣasī is going to kill R. in his sleep (the reading *harisyāmi* 'I will rob' for *haniṣyāmi* 'I will kill' and the mention of L. as the second sacrifice in the introductory prose of the Bengali recension are probably influences stemming from the Bengali abduction story), but has to leave without completing her work or is slain by Aṅgada. Can the Bengali saga have stemmed from a version such as Polier's, firstly by substituting a rākṣasī by one of Rāv.'s sons and secondly the murder episode by the abduction to the Underworld for the purpose of sacrifice (visits to the Underworld are very popular in later literature, v. Kathas passim)? The Bengali origin of the saga assumed by Sen p. 252 is then dubious, considering the existence of the western recension of Han. Nāt.

[5] This (Narmakathākosh p. 242f) has two maternal uncles of Rāv., Ahi- and Mahī-Rāv.; the circumstances of their birth are similar to those of the birth of Vālin and Sugrīva in Vā. (v. 8 II **a.-k.**), and even adapted from them. Here, apparently, two versions with Ahi-Rāv. or Mahī-Rāv. as heroes (v. p. 100) have been fused; the idea that they are maternal uncles of Rāv. does not seem to be the original one, considering the other versions. It is only fitting for Rāv.'s sons to bear such names.

Ref. **o.***: Duplication of Han.'s first visit to Sī. (v. 22 I **k.-l.**)?

Ref. **p.**: Han. tells of Indrajit's sacrifice: Again Han. receives more emphasis than the other warriors (v. 23 II **a.**, **h.**).

Ref. **u.**: R. kills Indrajit. C.f. VI 90: R. (as L.) kills Rav.'s charioteer. Origin of the conception in the H. S. R.?

Ref. **x.***: Satī-death of Indrajit's wife (Sulocana, not Komāla dewī) in Tulsī Dās p. 7.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** All events are described in greater detail. **b.*** Han., as emissary, uses his elongated tail as a seat. **c.** P. Maharāyan does battle with the army of the apes. **d.*** Two of his warriors are to abduct R., but cannot. **e.*** The warrior apes exhort him to be careful. **f.*** Han. encircles R.'s palace with his body. **g.** The abductor reaches the palace by crawling through Han.'s fur as a tiny insect. **h.*** Adopts the guise of several of R.'s warriors. **i.*** Goes through a lotus flower with R. into the Underworld. **k.*** Han.'s battles when he is gaining access to the Underworld (mountain of *Nanda parwadam; *Han. extends his left hand to his opponent at the beginning of the battle). **l.*** Han. does battle with *Maharīsī Bālī; kills *Amīr arab. **m.** Appoints the son of the princess at the pool king in his stead. **n.** Han. hurls Amīr arab's head into the midst of the enemy. **o.** Rāv.'s four sons fall (VI 69-71). **p.** Gangga mahā sūra falls. **q.** Indrajit intercepts; *boulders rain down; *with R.'s help Garuḍa protects the army. **r.** Indrajit wounds R.; Nīla Anggāda fetch healing herbs from Būkit Sĕrĕndīb; R. cured. **t.** At night Indrajit kills many apes. **u.** Han. brings the herb of Malāyakīrī; the dead are quickened. **w.** Vi. states the purpose of Indrajit's sacrifice (VI 84); name of the place of sacrifice is Nikumbilī (= Nikumbhilā VI 83); Indrajit and L. do battle repeatedly (not once VI 90) with magic weapons; R. goes to L.'s aid with Vi.; dispute between Vi. and Indrajit (VI 87-88). **x.*** Indrajit's magic weapon changes into a garland of flowers around R.'s neck. **y.** Indrajit disappears on a *flying horse; returns to the city (VI 90 before the final battle); advises that Sī should be returned. **z.** Rāv. wishes to kill Sī. who has been accused of being the cause of all the misfortune by Indrajit's wife. (VI 92).

Ref. **b.***: Aṅgada elongates his tail in the Angader Rāivāra of the Bengali Kavicandra (Sen p. 218-219)[6]. The occurrence of this miracle during Han.'s first visit to Laṅkā Indian or Indonesian?

Ref. **d.***: The attempted abductions of the two warriors probably a duplication of the following abduction.

Ref. **e.***: Exhortations to take care rather similar Sen p. 260ff.

Ref. **f.***: In Polier p. 383 Han. encircles R.'s tent with his body[7].

Ref. **h.***: Similar but other forms (only that of Vi. appears in both versions, although at different junctures) Sen p. 263ff.

Ref. **i.***: C.f. the path made for the abductor into the Underworld by an incantation Sen. p. 267.

Ref. **k.***: These first battles are the doubles of those with the abductor and Amīr arab. (v. **l.***). Nanda parwadam Southern Indian name form (van Ronkel p. 383, who reads tanda for Nanda by mistake). The left hand extended: propriety injured (c.f. 23 III **e.***).

Ref. **l.***: Maharīsī Bālī: Bali, name of a daemon king deceived by Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation (the title of maharṣi is not rightfully his!), and whose seat was later supposed to be the Underworld (Sen p. 272: King Vali). Amīr arab (امير ارب [8]) from Ahīrāvaṇa, Rāv.'s maternal uncle in the Gujarati version of the abduction story (v. p. 99).

Ref. **o.** Sh || Vā: 1. Form of the name Tūrī Kāya (تورى كاي) from Trikāya, name of the Atikāya in the Kawi-Rāmāyaṇa (Juynboll p. 522), Tūrī sirah (تورى سره)

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[6] In the Bengali recension of Han. Nāt. (Act. VII, p. 81) Aṅgada sits on Rāv.'s throne.

[7] It can clearly be seen from this that the Bengali version can not be considered as the source.

[8] (approx. اهيراون).

from Trisirah (Juynboll p. 525) = Triśiras, Nāra nantāka (نار نتناک) from Narāntaka analogous to Dewī nantāka (ديوي نتناک) from Devatāntaka (approx. ديوتانتک), name of the Devāntaka in the Kawi-Rāmāyaṇa (Juynboll p. 522). Dewī instead of Dewa is the Javanese Krama form. 2. Rāv.'s sons are still quite young. 3. Indrajit is to accompany them (Vā.: their uncles accompany them). 4. Amongst their opponents Han.'s son instead of L.

Ref. **q.***: Boulder-rain as daemonic weapon c.f. I 26. *R. frees Garuḍa from the weight of boulders: c.f. the feat of strength 18 I **c.**

Ref. **r.-u.**: C.f. VI 73-74: Indrajit kills off many apes, wounds R. and L. On Jāmbavat's advice Han. fetches curative herbs of Kailāsa, the scent of which heals the wounded and revives the dead, with the exception of the rākṣasas who have been cast into the sea. The action here seems to be divided into two parts[9] by the introduction of the second collection of curative herbs, Han. strangely enough not taking care of R., as one might expect, but looking after the apes.[10]. The wounding of R. takes the place of Indrajit shackling R. and L. with the *nāgapāśa* (VI 44-50)[10] when he appears for the first time (with the result that Indrajit does battle four times here as in Vā.).

Ref. **w.**: Sh. || Vā.: Purpose of Indrajit's sacrifice to revive all the fallen rāksasas (not invulnerability).

Ref. **x.***: In the Lalitavistara the weapons hurled against the Bodhisattva by Māra's army change into festoons of flowers, hovering above his head (Lefmann p. 317). The laying down of arms: symbolizes peaceful intentions, therefore, to be compared with the peaceful meditation of the Bodhisattva?

Ref. **y.***: Flying horse: c.f. Waterfield p. 34 (Papīhā the steed). Other parrallels Poerbatjaraka p. 30.

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[9] VI 50 Suṣeṇa advises Han. to fetch the herbs from the mountains of Candra and Droṇa (but her advice is not taken). Has this caused the phenomenon of the two-fold event of fetching the herbs?

[10] The name of the herb brought by Han. وسلى وين probably from وسلى وتي *viśalyavatī* sc. *oṣadhi* (i.e. woundless rendering) herb. C.f. the *viśalyakaraṇi oṣadhi* mentioned in II 25, 83 Jacobi p. 254).

26

THE BATTLE FOR LAṄKĀ III: TO THE FALL OF RĀVAṆA

VI 93-112, Ro. p. 159-165, Sh. p. 218-243.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** Rāv. goes to battle. **b.** Wounds L. **c.** Han. carries L. out of the skirmish. **d.** R. bewails L. **e.** Han. fetches the mountain with the curative herbs, L. cured. **f.** R. and Rāv. do battle with each other three times (v. II **k.**). **g.** Rāv.'s severed heads grow again. **h.** Rāv. falls (v. II **p.***). **i.** Entry into Laṅkā.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.*** The battle and death of Pĕrdāna warna. **b.** Also of Mūla patānī (v. III **b.-d.**) (**a.b.**: Vā.: Rāv. sends his army into battle; it suffers heavy losses.) **c.** The battle of the rākṣasas, led by Rāv., against the apes is missing (v. III **e.**). **d.** The first between Rāv. and L. likewise (v. **k.**). **e.** L. is not wounded while protecting Vi. (v. III **g.**); Rāv.'s weapon is an arrow (not a lance). **f.** Vi. (not Suṣeṇa is the physician. **g.** The arrow threatens to take root in L.'s heart. **h.** The herbal mountain is called Anjānī (not Mahodaya), one herb instead of four. **i.*** Han. steals away with the magic stone from Laṅkā; knots Rāv.'s hair with his wife's. **k.** On one day Rāv. does battle against R.'s army, on two days against R. himself (not three times in one day against R.). **l.*** Han. disturbs Rāv.'s sacrifice before the battle with R. **m.** R. does not fight from Indra's chariot. **n.*** R.'s and Rav.'s methods in battle. **o.*** Before Rāv. has been vanquished Han. steals away with the magic sword from Laṅkā (Vā.: R. receives a hymn to the sun from Agastya). **p.*** R. shoots off Rāv.'s little head. **q.*** Rāv. remains alive (no bewailing of the dead, cremation of the body, coronation of Vi.).

Ref. **a.*-b.***: Rākṣasa warriors whose dwellings or realms are situated outside Laṅkā: analogous to figures like

Indrajit and Mahī-Rāv.? Mūla patānī lives in the Underworld)

Ref. **c., d., k.**: The climax of the battle for Laṅkā. The previous battle between R. and Rāv. is not genuine (Jacobi p. 36). The same is probably true of Rāv.'s appearance on the field of battle as the companion of Kumbhakarṇa (v. 24 II **h.**).

Ref. **i.***: In the Han. Nāt. (Western recension, Wilson II p. 370), Han. abducts the physician Suṣeṇa from Laṅkā, with the purpose of curing L. Likewise Polier p. 378, who does not mention the name of the physician.

Ref. **l.***: In the Jainist Rāma saga, Aṅgada tries to interfere with one of Rāv.'s religious acts in a very similar manner (J.R. VII, 335-350). Ro. || J.R.: 1. The time of the act: after Rāv.'s first battle with R.'s army (not immediately after L.'s cure). 2. R. is to be suffocated by the smoke of the (brahminic) sacrifice (J.R.: Rāv. intends to acquire magic powers in the Jina-Temple, whereby he may overcome R.). 3. R. does not refuse to accept Sugrīva's challenge to interfere with the ceremony. 4. Han. (not Aṅgada and his apes without R.'s knowledge) disturbs the sacrifice. 5. He throws down slabs of rock on the place of sacrifice, *carries off Rav.'s wife on his back (J.R.: Aṅgada and the apes indulge in all sorts of mischief, Aṅgada drags Maṇḍodarī past by her hair). 6. Rāv.'s sacrifice fails (J.R.: Rāv. acquires magic power). Is Ro.'s story a brahminic version of the Jainist saga? The same question must be asked for the story of *Maṇḍodārikeśa-grahaṇa* of the Rāmāyaṇa version A, mentioned as a parallel by St. p. 99.

Ref. **n.***: The laws of combat explicit in the battle between R. and Rāv. (and brought out much more clearly in Sh.) differ from the usual laws of combat 'shot for shot': Repeated attack of one of the warriors, the other parades himself and vice versa, has a counterpart in the Rājpūten ballads: one attacks three times while the other hero parades up and down and vice versa (Waterfield p. 112f.).

Ref. **o.***: The interpretation of the sword, as a sword of the soul, St. note 212, may well be correct. Comparable is Kathās. 42,163-168: Prince Indīvarasena's mistress in a fit of jealousy, takes the sword, which was given him by the goddess Ambīka, and hurls it into the fire, at which the prince sinks unconscious to the ground. If the latter also in verse 168 is founded on the goddess's anger at the sullying of the ṣword in the fire, it is possible that this conception is secondary to the idea of a magic bond between the possessor and the magic (soul?) sword.

Ref. **p.***: Rāv.'s vulnerable spot: in the Rāma saga of the Padmapurāṇa R. splinters a beam over the gateway to Laṅkā fortress, the intact condition of which guarantees Rāv.'s life. Rāv.'s little head: can the *dhvaja manūsya-sīrsa* ('banner containing a human head?) shot by L. in VI 100, 14 (without however any influence on Rāv.'s fall) have some connection with this?

Ref. **q.***: Rāv. cannot die: St. p. 99f. makes a correct comparison of Rāv.'s violent death throes in several Rāma sagas, and on p. 100 postulates, with probable justification, the influence of the Alexander romance. V. also 27 II **k.***.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The battle and death of Pĕrdāna warna is missing. **b.** Battle and death of Mūla matānī (not Mūla patānī) described in greater detail. **c.** (!) At one time he had taken several gods captive, who are liberated by Indrajit. **d.** His brothers are Sumāli āwani and Māli wan (?). **e.** Battle between apes and rākṣasas (VI 96-98 with other warriors). **f.** Rāv. shoots an arrow, which he has received from Brahman, at L.; Vi. enables the latter to ward it off. **g.** Angered by this, Rāv. shoots an arrow at Vi.˙ **h.** L. protects Vi. (VI 100). **i.** Han. and the rākṣasa at the magic pool (almost the same in the Rāmāyana version B 32). **p.** L. must be cured before break of day. **l.** Han. casts the mountain with the herbs into the sea. **m.** The way in which Han. gains access to Rāv.'s palace in order to steal away with the stone is described in great detail. **n.** Rāv.'s sacrifice is missing. **o.** Rāv.'s battle with R. and his end are depicted with a wealth of detail. **p.** In vain Rāv. calls on the dewas of the Kĕindrāan to come to his aid. **q.** Han. manages to extract knowledge of Rāv.'s vulnerable spot from Sī.

Ref. **c.** (!): Mūla matāni takes Indra prisoner; Indrajit liberates him: c.f. VII 29-30: Meghanāda, since named Indrajit ('the vanquisher of Indra'), takes Indra captive in battle and frees him at Prajāpati's request. After his change of character, (v. 1 II **o.***), Indrajit can no longer appear as an enemy of the gods, and if the story is to remain intact, then another daemon must take his part and he must assume the role of liberator. Varuṇa taken captive and liberated: VII 23 Rāv. defeats the sons and grandsons of Varuṇa. This story is apparently adapted to that of Indra's capture in its new form. The story of the capture of the third god (?Rāja Bāya (راج باى) from Vāyu (approx. باى without the u?) cannot be identified.

Ref. **d.** Sumāli āwan, from Sumāli (VII 5-8 great uncle of Rāv.) by Indonesian analogy to Māli wan, from Mālyavat (VII 5-8 brother of Sumāli). C.f. the form of the name Subali, Javanese for Vālin which has come about by analogy to Sugrīva.

27

RĀMA IN LAṄKĀ

VI 113-128, Ro. p. 165-169, Sh. p. 243-257.

I. Ro. = Vā.: **a.** R. doubts Sī.'s unadulterated condition. **b.** Sī. defends herself. **c.** Her trial by fire. **d.** R. takes her back joyfully.

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.*** R. goes to Sī. (Vā.: has Vi. lead her before him and his retinue). **c.*** Han. (not L.) builds the pyre. **d.*** Again does not return Sī. to R. in the presence of the gods; Śiva and Daśaratha do not appear; the quickening of the dead apes by Indra is missing. **e.** R. remains in Laṅkā for a considerable period. **f.** Confers special honours on Jāma Mantrī. **g.** Rāv.'s vassalls do obeisance to R. **h.** R.'s brothers and sister come to him. **i.** R. makes presentations to his brothers. **k.*** With them he goes to see Rāv. who is still alive. **l.** Vi. marries R.'s sister. **m.** Sī.'s adoptive parents come to Laṅkā. **n.** Her adoptive father tells her story, Mandū dārī recognizes her daughter (* the breasts which give milk, v. 22 II **g.***). **o.** R.'s brothers return home, accompanied by R. or Vi. with two warriors. **p.** On the way back Vi. discovers a place which is suitable for the building of a city. **q.** The new city of Duryā pūri nĕgāra is built. **r.** R. takes up residence in the new city; it is then settled. **s.** L., Vi. and two other warriors have high offices conferred upon them (**e.-s.**) Vā.: R. returns to Ayodhyā on Rāv.'s flying chariot with Sī., L. and those apes who refuse to return home (v. III **b.**); is received with much ceremony; ascends the throne).

Ref. **a.*-c.***: The brutal treatment of Sī., which is unworthy of R.-Viṣṇu has been toned down considerably in Vā. by the trial by fire in the presence of her son Han. (v. **c.***) and after her defence has been heard.

Ref. **d.***: The appearance of Agni, Śiva etc., remembering that the gods give honour to R. as Viṣṇu, is not an integral part of the original Vā., or the Rāma saga for that matter, to which Ro. bears a closer affinity.

Ref. **k.***: R. and his brothers visit Rāv.: influence of the Mbh. XIII 166-167: when the great battle has come to an end the pāṇḍavas visit Bhīṣma, who is still alive and lying on his bed of arrows. Rāv. is lying at the foot of the mountain Sĕrĕndib: v. St. p. 100.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The events are depicted in greater detail. **b.** The apes will not accept R.'s suggestion that they return home; R. gives them presents (VI 122 in reverse order; Vi., not R., gives them presents).

28

RĀMA'S LAST ADVENTURES

VI 37-111, Ro. p. 169-173, Sh. p. 257-285.

I. R. = Vā.: **a.** R. casts out Sī. **b.** Sī. takes refuge with a holy man. **c.** She has two sons. **d.** These grow up with her. **e.** R. is united with his sons. **f.** Makes them rulers. **g.** R.'s city is called Ayodhyā (v. II **p.**).

II. Ro. || Vā.: **a.** R. does not dismiss the kings who come to visit him and his comrades in arms; the transfer of the flying chariot by Kubera and the description of R.'s life with Sī. are missing. **b.** Sī. is made artificially pregnant with bezoar stones. **c.*** Sī.'s banishment is caused by the cunning intrigues of her sister-in-law (Rāv.'s picture!) (not by R.'s anxiety about the talk of the people). **d.*** Sī.'s test of truth: the slanderer loses the power of speech and the animals of the forest mourn. **e.** With her retinue Sī. goes to her foster father (devoted to worship) (is not taken to Vā.'s hermitage by L.). **f.** R. does not relate a number of stories concerning holy men. **g.** Śatr. is not present in Vā.'s hermitage at the birth of R.'s sons; does not defeat the daemon Lavaṇa; R. does not slay the Śūdra-ascetic Śambūka; Agastya does not relate stories about the ascetics. **h.*** Sī.'s foster father brings R.'s second son to life from a bundle of grass. **i.** R.'s sons are called Tīlāwī and Gūsī (not Kuśa and Lava, v. III **a.**). **k.** R. and L. fetch Sī. and her sons and take them to R.'s kingdom; *R.'s sons are warriors and vanquishers of daemons (Vā.: R.'s sons appear as the pupils of Vā. and singers of the Rāmāyaṇa at R.'s horse-sacrifice; R. recognizes his sons; is united with Sī. for a short period; Sī.'s act of self-vindication; she sinks into the ground). **l.** The following are missing: the enfeoffment of Bhar.'s (c.f. III **t.**) and L.'s sons with domains; Kāla's invitation to R. to return to heaven and the death of L. **m.** R.'s sons rule in Duryā pūri nĕgāra and Laṇkā (not in Śrāvasti and Kuśāvatī). **n.** They marry the daughters of Indrajit and Gangga mahā sūra. **o.** R.'s warriors receive domains. **p.** R. founds the city of Ayodyā pūri (= Ayodhyā). **q.** His descendants (**o.-q.** Vā.: R. ascends to heaven with his subjects and his warrior-apes, v. III **x.**).

Ref. **b.**: Duplicated form of the artificial pregnancy of Mandū dārī (v. 2. III **b.**).

Ref. **c.***: Rāv.'s picture: without any important variations (R.'s sister is called Kukuā, not Kīkĕwī dewī) (Sen p. 198ff.[1]) in the Ramayaṇa of Candrāvatī.

Ref. **d.***: Sī.'s act of self-vindication: by asserting her pure conduct, the faithful wife has a magic influence over natural events (*satyakriyā* 'practical proof of truth' therefore act of self-vindication). The animals of the forest mourn: c.f. Ziegenbalg p. 131: in their pity the birds make a sunshade over the head of the banished woman; the animals of the forest fall at her feet and show her the way to Vā.'s hermitage.

Ref. **f.-g.**: The missing episodes are most probably spurious in Vā.

Ref. **h.***: R.'s second son called into being from a bundle of grass: under the same conditions Vā. brings Lava to life (erroneously instead of Kuśa; *kuśa* 'grass'!) from a blade of grass in Ziegenbalg p. 132ff[2].

Ref. **k.***: R.'s sons are vanquishers of daemons (like their father! duplication!) in Ziegenbalg p. 133.V. III **b.***.

Ref. **l.***: As an ascetic L. has no sons. V. III **f.*** L.'s refusal to marry.

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[1] Sen's characterization of Kukuā as a duplicated form of the instigator of mischief Kaikeyī p. 201f. is correct. On the other hand it appears doubtful, considering the appreciable spread of Jainism, whether it is in fact the Bengali poets (Sen p. 206ff.) who have been responsible for incorporating and recasting the episode about Rāv.'s picture. In Polier p. 393f., Sī. draws Rāv.'s picture on the wall of her room. Is this in any way connected with Uttararāmacarita. Act. I With L. and Sī. R. views the pictures depicting Sī.'s adventures, which are hung on the walls of a corridor; this happens shortly before he hears the gossip about Sī.

[2] In the Sinhalese variant the creation of the third son is, it must be noticed, a duplication of the creation of the second, in St p. 101.

Ref. **o.**: Names of cities: Indra pasta from Indraprastha (Mbh.: capital of the Pāṇḍavas); Astīna (Jav. Hāstina Kats p. 141) from Hastināpura (Mbh.: the capital of the Kauravas) The names have probably infiltrated into the H. S. R. through the wayang or some other related source.

III. Sh. || Ro.: **a.** The name form Tabalāwī (not Tīlawī for Lava. **b.** The battles which R.'s sons wage against the rākṣasas are described in detail (*dispute over the prey, v. c.*). **c.*** R.'s sons battle with L. over a slain gazelle; L. is taken captive; R. recognises his sons. **d.** The blessing which R.'s rule brings is described in detail. **e.** R. has his brothers summoned to attend the ceremony at which his sons ascend the throne. **f.*** L. refuses to marry Indrajit's daughter. **g.*** Han. fetches *magnificent buildings from the Kĕindrāan. **h.** On Garuḍa, L. fetches Indrajit's daughter from the Kĕindrāan. **i.** The description of her marriage with Lava. **k.** R. goes to Laṅkā. **l.** Gangga mahā sūra's daughter is fetched (description of her marriage with Kuśa). **m.** Vi.'s daughter marries the son of Jāma Mantrī; he becomes Kuśā's regent. **n.** R. returns to his city. **o.** Han. is to receive a kingdom; wishes to remain with R. **p.** L. instructs his brothers concerning Han.'s descent and nature. **q.** The daughters of Amīr arab are married to Han.'s son and the ruler of the Underworld; R.'s warriors are given the daughters of the fallen rākṣasas; exact details of their enfeoffment; Vi.'s sons are married to Bhar.'s and Śatr.'s daughters; receive kingdoms. **r.** Lava marries Vi.'s daughter; her disinclination; Han. commits adultery with her; R.'s sons do battle with him; R. pacifies them; tells Han. the circumstances of his birth. **s.** The name Andya pūri for Ayodyā pūri) nĕgāra. **t.** R.'s brothers receive kingdoms (c.f. VII 70 Śatr.'s coming to power VII 101 the enfeoffment of Bhar.'s sons). **u.** L. is to be given Indra pūri; wishes to remain with R. **v.** R. and Sī. live the life of ascetics. **w.** R. imparts wisdom to Lava. **x.** R. and Sī. pass over into the land of eternity.

Ref. **a.**: Tabalāwī (تيلاوي) from Siamese Butlava (approx. بتلاو [3]), for Putra Lava (Juynboll p. 545). Tīlāwī تيلاوى)

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[3] The ending -i for -a could well be Javanese, c.f. Dewī nantāka for Devatāntaka.

from Tabalawī.

Ref.: **f.***: L. does not wish to marry: his asceticism extended (v. 13 II **b.***).

Ref. **o.***: While fighting over the slain gazelle R.'s sons take L. captive. In the Padmapurāṇa, Śatr. and the other guardians of R.'s sacrificial steed manage to capture Lava, who is trying to steal it, after a tough fight, but in their turn they are defeated by Kuśa and taken prisoner; Sī. then brings about their liberation and that of the sacrificial steed[4] (Pātālkāṇḍa 1-68; uncle and nephew as adversaries, uncle taken captive = Sh.). Battle during the hunt: in Ziegenbalg p. 133, R.'s sons attack R. and L.[5], who are riding to the chase on white steeds[6], drive them off and steal their horses. Battle for the prey; c.f. Mbh. III 38-41: Arjuna does battle with Śiva, who appears as Kirāta, for the possession of a boar which has been slain. Gazelle as prey: analogous to the gazelle which plays a part in Sī.'s abduction. L. as the adversary of his nephews: VII 92 L. protects R.'s sacrificial steed without needing to do battle. In Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita L.'s son Candraketu fights with Lava for the possession of the sacrificial steed.

Ref. **g.***: Magnificent buildings in the Underworld: c.f. Kathās. passim.

Ref. **s.**: Andya purī (اندی فری) from Ayodyā purī in Ro.

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[4] The influence of the Mbh. on the description of R.'s sacrifice of a steed VII 92? Mbh. XIV 82 Arjuna, in his capacity as guardian of the sacrificial steed, does battle with his nephew Maghasandhi.

[5] Added to the battle between uncle and nephew, there is the battle between father and son (also by reason of the Mbh.? XIV 79-81 Arjuna fights with his son Babhruvāhana). Likewise, the Jainist Rāma saga, which in place of the repugnant battle for the sacrificial steed, makes R.'s sons do battle with their father and uncle, in order to avenge the banishment of their mother. (J.R. IX, Rice p. 340ff). The relationship of Ziegenbalg's story to those of the Padmapurāṇa and Sh., to both of which it bears a resemblance, is not clear. Is it perhaps an intermediary stage between the two versions, from which Sh.'s may have arisen by the development of the hunt motif and the disappearance of the theft of the steed! Or is Sh., incorporating the dispute about the prey in place of the dispute about the sacrificial steed, a version which is quite independent from the beginning?

[6] Remnant of the theft of the sacrificial steed.

Ref. **v.***:R. and Sī. as ascetics. They have reached the third stage of life, that of the *vanaprastha.*

Ref. **x.**: Return from the transitory world (*nĕgeri yang fanā*) to the world of eternity: a reminiscence of R.'s return to heaven VII 110, but with Islamic phraseology (*fanā!*)?

CONCLUSION

A. SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

1. The Ro. and Sh. versions recount in essence the same story.

2. Ro.'s version. Throughout the whole course of the narrative this account appears to possess greater fundamental symmetry, rarely omitting major incidents, even in the parts which are shorter by comparison with Sh. (v. infra). It treats the events up to and including Han.'s jump to Laṅkā[1] in great detail and describes the construction of the causeway, the battle for Laṅkā and Rāma's last adventures in broad outline.

3. Sh.'s version includes a comparatively long section, devoted to the detailed description of Rāv.'s youth and early deeds, before the events with which Ro. begins his account. The ensuing part of Sh.'s account, approximately[2] as far as Han.'s jump to Laṅkā, is kept appreciably shorter than Ro., though the latter part of the construction of the causeway, as far as Rāma's end is recounted in great detail.

4. Both versions contain a fairly large number of episodes and lesser narrative elements, occurring exclusively in either one or the other version and in addition, episodes described in considerable detail by one, but sketched briefly or in different form by the other. With the exception of a few contradictory incidents[3], all the major episodes and minor narrative elements of

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[1] C.f. Note 3 infra.

[2] As the summary of contents shows, the dividing line cannot be drawn unequivocally.

[3] For instance, the details concerning the kind of supernatural aid given to Daś. to procreate his sons (Ro. sacrifice and elephant hunt, Sh. present of bezoar stones from a maharṣi). Further, the two descriptions of Rāma's travels are incompatible in Ro. and Sh. Rāma's first meeting with Hanumat is described three times in Ro. (p. 32, 35, 37) each time in a different manner; Sh. only has the last of the three descriptions (p. 37). In Ro.'s version of Rāma's meeting with Sugrīva, the latter resides in a hill made from the secretion of his eyes, but in Sh.'s version he is in a tamarind tree (as also is Han. in Ro.'s first account of his meeting with Rāma). In Ro.'s account of the visit of Rāma's brothers, the death of Rāma's mother introduces the episode, but in Sh. the death of Rāma's father is related. The two stories of the punishment of Gāgaḳ sūra and Gāgaḳ nāsir are not necessarily contradictory, as they do not mutually exclude each other by their position in the general framework of the story.

one version can be woven into the fabric of the other without difficulty. This can be all the more readily achieved, as it is assumed that events appearing to a greater extent in Ro. and to a lesser degree in Sh. nevertheless originally existed in Ro.[4]. Considering the close relationship between the two versions which thereby manifests itself, it can be concluded with reasonable certainty that even the shorter account of the one may be supplemented by the more detailed narrative of the other, provided there are no incompatible contradictions.

5. In view of these facts and considerations, it may be supposed that both versions are based on the same original source, from which the versions of Ro. and Sh. can only have arisen by means of oral tradition. This original Ro. + Sh. version cannot, as the contradictions show, have possessed a clearly defined form. This peculiarity could well indicate that the original version, and the versions arising therefrom, are products of varying oral traditions. More will be said concerning this and the formation of the versions below; with regard to these latter, and bearing in mind the hypothetical original version Ro. + Sh., the distribution of the material peculiar to both versions suggests the tentative assumption that the existing version of one played a part in the formation of the other.

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4. So Jaṭāyus mentions Rāvaṇa's covenant with Nabī Ādam in Ro. (p. 29); the story of Rāvaṇa's youth to which this feature belongs, is to be elaborated in Ro. Further, the episode concerning the punishment of Gāgak sūra, related only in Sh. (p. 16), is mentioned in Ro. (p. 44) to Rāvaṇa by Kumbhakarṇa as one of Rāma's heroic deeds. In addition, Rāvaṇa's seven sons can only be properly accounted for in Ro., at the time when the circumstances of their death are described, (p. 50) by having regard to the four younger sons of Rāv. which are mentioned by Sh. (p. 48) and fall in the battle against the apes. Finally, Maharīsī Kalī's account of the heroic deeds of Rāma's sons as daemon vanquishers presupposes the description of the battles of Kuśa and Lava in Sh. (p. 60f.). The statement in Sh. that Lagūr Katagīna (Vālin's realm) is not subject to Rāvaṇa, can apparently be related to Ro.'s story (p. 22f) about Rāvaṇa's battle with Vālin. In the story of Hanumat's youth (Sh. p. 21, 37) the mention of Añjanā's asceticism practised with her mouth open presupposes her mother's curse (Ro. p.25) and thereby the whole story of Gautama and his family.

B. COMPARISON WITH THE INDIAN RĀMA SAGA.

The original version Ro. + Sh., the probable existence of which has been indicated above, provides a proper basis for a methodical summary of the results of this comparison. The relationship between the H.S.R., Ro. + Sh. and Vā. can then be given as follows:

1. The H.S.R. recounts, as Vā. does, the life and deeds of Rāma and Rāvaṇa from their birth to their death. The pattern and course of the story are generally the same as for Vā., excepting the existing narrative elements of the seventh book (v. 5. infra) which are firmly established as part of the whole account.

2. With a few exceptions, in which the same theme is treated in a completely different or extremely dissimilar form[5], the H.S.R. agrees with Vā. in the essential characteristics of the comparative sections (in general Ro. approx. = Vā.) and also in a certain number of lesser details, but especially in the treatment of the episode dealing with the construction of the causeway to Laṅkā (particularly characteristic of Sh.).

3. Within this area of agreement the H.S.R. shows exceptionally wide divergences from Vā., spread over the whole narrative; a large number of episodes and smaller narrative elements have either changed their place, are missing and are replaced by others, or even appear for the first time. In some comparative sections these divergences obtrude, more noticeably than in other sections, from the main area of agreement with Vā. Particularly worth mentioning in this respect are, except for a few sections dealing with material from the more recently added Uttarkāṇḍa, the sections dealing with the battle for Laṅkā[5]. In all these cases, the event or events are very much, if not totally, at variance with Vā.

4. The vast majority of these divergences, particularly all the important episodes and the more conspicuous of the smaller narrative elements, can be shown to belong to the Hindu

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[5] 6. Rāvaṇa's Journey to the Sun, 7. Rāvaṇa and Vālin. 8. Guatama and his family, and partly 24-26. The Battle of Laṅkā.

accounts of the Rāma saga[6]. They can be found in various popular versions[7] of the Rāma saga, for the most part together, but to a lesser extent separately, or they can be considered as component elements of such versions by internal evidence or evidence from other Indian sagas, taking into consideration the context as a whole; in some cases they can be explained by the adoption of certain parts of the Jainist version of the Rāma saga. The comparatively small number of divergences which cannot be shown to be Indian or Indonesian in origin (v. infra) can likewise be taken as Indian and related to the Rāma saga, as their intrinsic content (v. 5 infra) shows absolutely no variation from the others. They are of no importance in assessing the story as a whole. Insignificant elements of Indonesian origin are present[8] but do not alter the Indian character of the whole. Their importance will be shown in section six. The H.S.R. is, then, a popular Indian Rāma saga, the notable characteristic of which is a comparatively strong Jainist strain with certain traces of Indonesian influence.

5. The H.S.R.'s relationship to Vā. can be readily determined by reason of the Indian parallels already observed. In more than one respect, it embodies a more developed form of the Rāma saga than the epic. The divergences of the H.S.R. from Vā., apart from the narrative elements originating in the Jainist Rāma saga and the omissions, are for the greater part innovations and embellishments of the original epic material[9], duplicated forms of the same, or they replace parts in Vā. by parts with a more highly developed subject matter[10]. Elements

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[6] The firm connection of Rāv.'s account, as far as it exists, in the Uttarakāṇḍa is also to be found in Polier. C.f. 1 II a.

[7] One of these is the version of Padmapurāṇa by reason of its character. The Rāma dramas are not mentioned particularly in this respect, mainly because they are of value in explaining Sīta's choice of a husband, though this value is not incontestable.

[8] 1 II y: names from the Mbh.; 3 II h.*r*. the Zaht 40,15 III c. the story of Sultan Abd-el-malik.

[9] Good examples 2 II v*,x*, St.'s birth; 3 II h*-r*. Sī.'s choice of a husband.

[10] E.g. 3 II g* After killing the she-daemon, Rāma kills a rhinoceros and a serpent, not two rākṣasas (differentiation!); 25 II e*,i*, 26 II a*-b* rākṣasa warriors with quite well defined characters, mainly with domains outside of Laṅkā (a more precise account of Rāv.'s numerous warriors, who seem to merge one into the other in Vā.); 28 II c* Sī.'s banishment better motivated.

taken over from the Jainist Rāma saga, in which Vā. is rationalized and to some extent divested of its typical characteristics, can only be considered as embellishments within the framework of the H.S.R. All the divergent characteristics which have been mentioned hitherto, are spread over the major points of the saga in concentrated form. The basic tendencies which are exemplified by the changes are of three kinds: first and foremost, loving care (Viṣṇuism) in the revision, levelling (filling of gaps and the solution of contradictions), addition to and embellishment of Vā.'s saga, in order to present a well balanced and nicely rounded account of Rāma-Viṣṇu's life and deeds. Secondly, there is stronger emphasis on Rāma's divine nature (systematic exaltation and vindication of Rāma and the disparagement of Rāvaṇa). Thirdly, there is manifest a strong tendency to introduce popular Hindu concepts[11]. In accordance with the syncretic character of the Hindu religion, the material used for the new elements stems from various Indian saga-cycles, predominantly from the Mbh.[12], the Purāṇas[13], the Tantrismus[14] and folk-tales[15]. Recognition of these formative elements[16] has some importance in assessing the age of the new variations (v. infra). For the remaining divergences it could be a case of parts of a pre- or subepic stage of the Rāma saga in certain instances, but taken together, it seems more likely that they should also be regarded as resulting from the same process of modification, and therefore no different from the remaining peculiarities of the H.S.R. Moreover, their number and kind are of no import, compared with the remaining deviations from Vā. As far as the omissions are concerned, these give the H.S.R. a pre-epic ring in some cases. This, however, is only apparent, as on closer observation all the omissions prove to be unimportant for the main action, and contain contradictions of already established incidents, or belong to Brahminic mythology in the narrowest sense; thus, in accordance with the views advanced above, concerning the modification of the Rāma saga, they have been omitted by the popular story-tellers[17]. Like the closely related popular sagas from which the main parallels are taken, the H.S.R. represents a form of the Rama saga, which omits unsuitable material for reasons stated above and has been developed by popular story-tellers along their own lines. The date of its origin can be approximately ascertained by determining the age of the separate episodes and elements of the saga. It is fairly certain that the story of Sī.'s birth, which is to be found in the Uttarapurāṇa (8th century), is one of the oldest parts; the story of Sī.'s choice of a husband can also be placed roughly at the beginning of the 10th century[18], if we are to accept the description of its origin. The introduction of Viṣṇuitic motifs at certain junctures, in place of Śivaitic ones[19] may indicate that it originated after the revival of Viṣṇuism by Madhva (12th century) following a period of Śivaism, especially when seen in relation to the emphasis placed on Rāma-Viṣṇu's divinity and the Bhakti (v. infra L.'s asceticism). This agrees with the fact that Lakṣmaṇa's

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[11] The second of these tendencies is to be found even in Vā., but in far less pronounced form.

[12] E.g. 2 II **v***,**x***, Sī.'s abandonment; 3 II **h***-**r*** Sīta's choice of a husband; 19 II **g*** a radiance is emitted from Vālin's body and rises to heaven.

[13] 1 II **o*** The influence of the Prahlāda-Myth, which in its developed form (Viṣṇupurāṇa i, 17-20) must surely be puranic and not epic; probably also 16 II **d*** Hanumat in the tree.

[14] As such are to be considered 25 II **i*** Rāma's abduction to the Underworld (visit to the Underworld v. p. 99; c.f. also Sen p. 252ff. what is said à propos the Mahī Rāvaṇer Pālā), 26 II **o*** Rāvaṇa's sword of the soul. Both conceptions are to be found in Vā. in less developed form, IV 50f.: The apes in search of Sīta visit the magic cave and VII 16 Rāvaṇa's sword Candrahāsa.

[15] Aetiological motifs 3 III **c** (!) the crow only wishes to eat carrion; 16 II **h*** the shrinking of the tamarind tree; 21 II **o*** the division of the pisang leaf. The 'primitive quality' of the variations determined by St. on p. 109, is limited really to these and similar motifs (the path to the right e.g. p. 19).

[16] Only those which can be determined with safety and/or those which are most important are given. The influence of Buddhist sagas is conceivable here and there, but cannot be proved conclusively (2 II **n*** Daś's two wives (?); 25 III **u***: Indrajit's weapon becomes a garland of flowers). There may be an influence from the saga-cycle of the Rājput ballads in 26 II **n***, the manner in which Rāma and Rāvaṇa do battle.

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17. All the episodes and narrative elements retained from the first and seventh books are apparently of this nature, as there is no reason to drop them when one considers the views advanced above. (e.g. 7. Rāvaṇa and Vālin, 8. Gautama and his family).

18. Rājaśekhara, in which the conception already occurs, belongs to this period.

19. 2 II t (!) Nandin replaced by Kaśyapa, the father of Garuḍa; 8 III b Rāma instead of Śiva is Hanumat's father.

asceticism[20] is to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa of the Bengali Kṛttivāsa, originating in the 15th century[21]. Considered from this point of view, it seems noteworthy that the motif of the visit to the Underworld on which Rama's abduction is based, should play such an important part in the Kathāsaritsāgara (11th century), which admittedly is traceable to older sources. Therefore it is possible that Sen was correct in his estimated date of the Mahī Rāvaṇer Pālā (11th century)[22]. The story of Rāv.'s picture[23], which is to be found in Hemacandra's Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa (12th century) in undeveloped form, belongs to a period between the close of the 12th and the beginning of the 16th century. It may be concluded from the foregoing that the origin of all the variations and, therefore, the Rāma saga which is presented in the H.S.R., inclusive of the adoption of Jainist elements[24], can be placed at a time after the close of the 12th century. The following observations concerning the origin of the H.S.R. in Indonesia also deserve consideration in this respect.

6. The results of the examination yield definite information about the way in which the popular Rāma saga came to Indonesia. It has already been indicated in A 5 that the H.S.R. probably originated in Indonesia by way of oral tradition. The existing narrative elements of Indonesian origin point in the same direction. The following can be stated concerning the manner in which the transplantation was effected. First of all, in addition to those names which can be traced to Sanskrit forms of the same[25], there are those which belong to Hindi or a related language[26], or even to a Dravidian tongue[27]. Bearing in mind the contradictions mentioned under A 4, one must therefore conclude that the H.S.R. reached Indonesia from various parts of India in three streams of oral tradition, and was there fused into a more or less complete whole. One must exercise the greatest caution in making more definite conclusions about the

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[20] 13 II **b*** L.'s asceticism.
[21] Sen p. 153ff.
[22] Sen p. 253.
[23] 28 II **c***.
[24] In addition, the Jainist Rāma sagas presumably go back to much earlier sources.
[25] Sri Rāma, Sīta dewī, Maharāja Rawāna, also however, a hypothetical Ahi-Rāvaṇa or A. Rawāna, v. p. 165.
[26] Patāla Maharāyan from P. Mahirāban.
[27] Mahāraja Bibū sānam and Sh. p. 178 Nanda parwadam.

way in which this happened and the origin of these streams in any particular area of India. Statements regarding the areas over which the Indian Rāma sagas or separate parts of the same were distributed can, on account of the material at our disposal, only be made with the greatest restraint, for not even the existing Indian material can claim to be complete, and the Malayan version shows considerable variation in the majority of episodes and narrative elements. The peculiarities include the occurrence of lesser features from other saga-cycles or other Indian versions of the point in question, and occasionally involve a completely different account of the same event, while preserving general agreement in basic essentials. These changes do not suggest an Indonesian origin, rather do they indicate that we are dealing with Indian parallel versions, the exact origin of which cannot be determined. In some episodes complete agreement exists, or at least appears to be within the realms of possibility, as the description of the Indian sources is too brief to prove the contrary. It also seems possible to give some account of their area of distribution with a degree of certainty; in part, they appear to belong to the east[28], one to the west [29] and one to the southwest[30]. In one case [31] it may be assumed from the content that the feature in question either comes from Ceylon, or what is more likely, giving due regard to what has been said above, from the Coromandel Coast. All in all it seems justified to conclude that the H.S.R. came to Indonesia, partly from the east and partly from the west. It is quite possible that two narrative streams[32] came from one of the two areas. Since the H.S.R. is in general uniform, one may assume that all three have a common framework[33]. It is quite certain that the Jainist elements did not reach Indonesia independently, but had already been absorbed by one or other of the Hindu sagas. The manuscript of that version of Sh., which by reason of its content must be considered as the later one of the two, was acquired in 1633, and therefore the period of complete transfer must be some time prior to 1600 and after the period of origin assumed for the majority of the sagas (12th century v. supra p. 185).

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[28] 23 III **e*** Dispute while constructing the causeway; 25 II **e*** death of Bhasmalocana; 28 **c*** Rāv.'s picture in the same form as in the H. S. R.

[29] 25 II **i*** Hanumat's son.

[30] 28 II **h*** The creation of Rāma's second son.

[31] 1 II **e*** Rāv. is taken to Būkit Sĕrĕndib.

[32] V. supra.

[33] C.f. what has been observed in St. p. 110f and note 434 p. 266 about the area of distribution for the extra-epic Rāma sagas.

7. The two versions of this Rāma saga in Indonesia which have been the subject of critical study, are apparently not equally well preserved, taken from the Indian point of view. Ro. certainly gives the impression of being the older version, as all the important features of the saga have been preserved in toto. It is a different matter with Sh., which in the first part of the version (v. R 3) either omits certain elements completely or describes them very briefly when compared with Ro. In particular Rāma's exclusion from succession to the throne must be stressed. This episode would hardly have been omitted in any Indian version of the Rāma saga, which was at all acceptable, because of its importance for the story as a whole and the favourable light it casts on R.-Viṣṇu's character. These characteristics of Sh. are manifest to an even greater extent in Maxwell's version, which begins with Hanumat's birth[35] as son of the king Sri Rama and his wife Sakuntum Bunga Satangkai, introducing at the same time a number of lesser Indonesian elements of Islamic origin[34], and limits itself to a description of Hanumat's adventures, the abduction of R.'s wife by Rāv. (here Duana) and the battle for Laṅkā (here Katjapuri), these events showing a considerable divergence from the other two versions. This version completes the reduction of Rāma to the level of a mere fairy-tale hero, a process which had probably already been initiated in Sh.[36], is completely Indonesian in character and is, without doubt, quite late.

In conclusion, the following judgement can be made concerning the H.S.R.: it represents a popular form of the Rāma saga which, seen from the point of view of time and content, is in every way post-epic, was carried by word of mouth to Indonesia between the 13th and 17th centuries, partly from Western and partly from Eastern India, exists there in several versions, which from Ro. to Maxwell show an increasing degree of Indonesian levelling and alteration of the original sagas postulated.

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[34] C.f. e.g. Gerth van Wijk p. 424 and p. 432ff., the name of King Shah Kobad and the jinn fought against by Rāma's ape-son. C.f. in Sh. 12 III **a** (!) Garūda dibūkit Ḳāf.

[35] Called Kĕra Kĕtjil Imam Tergangga. As Gerth van Wijk has already shown the name of Hanumat's son Hanūman Tūganggah has been transferred to Hanumat.

[36] C.f. 2 III **d**. Rāma's affability not mentioned among his virtues.

KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS USED.

Bhar. = Bharata.
Daś. = Dásaratha.
Han. = Hanumat.
J. R. = Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa.
L. = Lakṣmaṇa.
Mbh. = Mahābhārata.
R. = Rāma.
Rāv. = Rāvaṇa.

Śatr. = Śatrughna.
Śū. = Śūrpaṇakhā.
Sī. = Sītā.
Su. = Sugrīva.
V. = Vālin.
Vā. = Vālmīki.
Vi. = Vibḥīṣaṇa.

Bijdr. = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie. s ' Gravenhage.
H. S. R. = Hikāyat Srī Rāma.
JA = Journal Asiatique. Paris.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.
JSBRAS = Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Singapore.
OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. Leipzig.
Ro. = Edition of the H. S. R. by Roorda van Eysinga.
Sh. = Edition of the H. S. R. by Shellabear.
TBG = Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Batavia - s'Gravenhage.

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The Rāma Saga, as shadow play, lives on in Malaysia as part of the folk culture of our peoples. It is for this reason that M.S.R.I. has prepared this translation, for few Malaysians have a sufficient command of German to read Dr. Zieseniss' work in the original.

The Indian Hindu contribution is as much a part of our folk culture as is Islam. It is in this context that attempts at exclusiveness must be seen, for exclusiveness would mean the denial of an integral part of our ground-level culture which historically has proved itself to be both assimilative and syncretic.

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